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ABSTRACT

The articles presented in this document stem from taped presentations or post summations of speeches presented at a conference on the status of women held in the spring of 1972 by the Connecticut Education Association. The book can serve as a guide to three major problems: (1) sexual stereotypes; (2) the legal and economic status of women; and (3) the educational needs of women. Articles presented include: (1) Why Women Fail; (2) The Case for Womens Studies; (3) Sex Role Stereotypes in the Classroom; (4) Sex Role Socialization; (5) Masculinity and Femininity; (9) Teacher Maternity Provisions in Connecticut; (10) Growing Up as a Female Reader; (11) Women in Education; and (12) Sexual Politics in the Classroom. (HS)

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PREFACE

Connecticut women are a rare natural resource for human rights and opportunities as evidenced by the articles in this collection which, with three exceptions, are the work of prominent Connecticut women. The exceptions are the keynote address by Radcliffe President Matina Horner from Massachusetts; the compilation on maternity benefits by Robbins Barstow, a man who works hard for the cause of liberating women; and the lecture on sex role stereotypes in the classroom by Shirley McCune of the National Education Association staff.

A result of a conference on the status of women held in the spring of 1972 by the Connecticut Education Association (CEA) at Trinity College, the articles stem from taped presentations or post summations. They have been most stringently edited for this collection. Audience comments and reactions have been included in a few of the articles. One comment in particular urged CEA to write up the conference in order that its message could be shared with more teachers, students, and parents. Also, material has been included to give practical suggestions to those who intend to hold similar conferences.

The book can also serve as a guide to three major problems: sexual stereotypes, the legal and economic status of women, and the educational needs of women. If the numerous issues discussed here bring about more tolerance toward women's liberation, the book is a success. All the articles tell it straight from a woman's point of view, and it's not sugar and spice.

No preface would be complete without recognizing a host of people who assisted in the compilation of the book. First of all, thanks to those men of the CEA who provided the impetus for the conference, some with understanding and others with derision. Special thanks to Charles Paine, chairman of the Human Relations Commission; Raymond Rossomando and Morris Nirenstein, the past and present presidents; and to Tom Mondani, my executive director, who was recently made an honorary woman when he joined the NEA Women's Political Caucus.

Extensive thanks to Mary Gallagher, a sociologist and hip mother of seven, for the transcribing and typing; to Elena Vincenzo, my secretary, and to Joan Rogers, Professional Development secretary, for their additional assistance; to Dr. Shirley McCune, assistant director, Human Relations Section, National Education Association, for her efforts in getting this published; to Gloria Busch and Janice Trecker for their encouragement and guidance; and to all the women who worked at and attended the conference.

Suzanne Taylor

Storrs, Connecticut
August 1972

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FOREWORD

In the past when human relations were mentioned, one immediately thought of race and more specifically black and white. Human relations, however, involves all groups of people. Of course the CEA Human Relations Commission does not want to suggest or even hint that it is no longer important to work for black minorities. Not only must work for racial justice be continued, but other minority concerns must be upgraded. The commitment must be to work in all the areas of human relations without permitting one concern to dilute the cause for mutual understanding.

In Connecticut women predominate as teachers by a ratio of 2 to 1. In administration, however, the ratio is reversed as there are four men for every woman. Women have become aware of these frightening statistics and realize they must be prepared to move into top echelon positions where the decisions that affect them are being made. Without question, women are qualified to assume administrative positions and must be encouraged to assume leadership roles.

This conference and the resulting book have been planned to provide you with information and, hopefully, the enthusiasm to organize and work toward the improvement of the status of women in your local area. You will find many suggestions for specific action in the chapters that follow. We hope that ten years from now balance will be restored and men and women will share in the decision-making and teaching roles.

Gloria J. Busch

NOTES TO THE READER ON PRACTICAL MECHANICS

Janice Trecker and Suzanne Taylor

The aim of "51% Minority" was to provide Connecticut teachers with information about women's problems and to give perspective to the women's movement. To do this, a wide variety of topics were covered, including sex role training, economic opportunities, and the law. An understanding of these forces is vital to educators and to women teachers concerned about their own status within the profession.

In setting up the conference, it was decided to operate by consensus, which was a three-way control. Janice Trecker, a free-lance writer, took responsibility for setting up workshops, obtaining speakers, and arranging format. She was also responsible for displays of materials on women. Gloria Busch, a vice-principal and CEA member, served as program chairwoman with responsibility for mechanical details. Remaining direction was given by Suzanne Taylor, a full-time professional staff member of CEA. Official details handled through her office included registration, publicity, financing, and overall coordination. The conference was sponsored by the CEA Human Relations Commission and approved by the CEA Board of Directors.

Men were invited to participate along with women, and about 10 percent of those in attendance were men. Two men, Human Relations Chairman Charles Paine, and CEA President Morris Nirenstein, were invited to extend greetings to the conference.

The conference was designed to be self-supporting, which was made possible by modest fees charged by speakers, free use of Trinity College facilities, and the \$10 fee paid by each participant.

Though the conference was designed for 300 participants, close to 200 attended. Overcoming public apathy before the conference was the largest hurdle. Possibly more advance publicity could have increased the attendance.

Men and women reporters and representatives of two major TV networks and one student radio network, provided reasonably good coverage of the conference. Those who attended seemed inspired to carry on the struggle for women's rights, as many women since have become more active in guiding their own lives. One interesting result was observed at the Atlantic

City NEA Convention which took place several months later: more than half the Connecticut delegates elected were women and a Connecticut women's caucus was formed. In the future many more demands for women's rights are bound to be made and won.

Although Connecticut's conference relied chiefly on local talent, similar resources exist in any large community. Good contacts with people working in the women's movement and with women actively involved in women's studies are essential. The following suggestions may serve as good sources for locating people and materials:

1. State or local human rights and opportunities commissions.
2. Local or nationally affiliated women's liberation groups, especially National Organization for Women (NOW), and Women's Equity Action League (WEAL)
3. Area colleges and universities—particularly those with women's studies programs
4. Organizations such as the following supply materials on women at modest cost:
 - (a) U.S. Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, Constitution Ave. and 14th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 22209
 - (b) KNOW, Inc., P.O. Box 10197, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15232
 - (c) The Feminist Press, SUNY College at Old Westbury, Box 334, Old Westbury, N.Y. 11568
 - (d) New Day Films, 267 West 25th Street, New York, N.Y. 10001.

In addition, a display of selected materials on the women's movement was received on consignment and sold successfully during the conference. We hope our experience will encourage others to hold similar conferences.

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WHY WOMEN FAIL

Matina S. Horner

It has been about five years since, in an attempt to explain the major unresolved sex differences in previous research on achievement motivation, I first proposed the presence of the "motive to avoid success (M-s)" as a psychological barrier to achievement in women. At the time I suggested that women are anxious about success, and that the motive to avoid success exists and receives its impetus from the expectancy that success, especially in competitive achievement situations, will be followed by negative consequences for them. Among these are social rejection and feelings of being "unfeminine" or inadequate as a woman.

Unfortunately, in American society even today, femininity and competitive achievement continue to be viewed as two desirable but mutually exclusive ends, just as they were in 1949 when Margaret Mead pointed out that "each step forward as a successful American regardless of sex means a step back as a woman." As a result, for women the active pursuit of success is hindered, and the actual level of performance attained by many otherwise achievement-motivated and able young women does not reflect their true abilities. When success is likely or possible, these young women become anxious about the negative consequences they expect to follow and their positive achievement strivings become thwarted. Thus, their abilities, interests and intellectual potential remain inhibited and unfulfilled.

As a recent analysis of some of the early data shows, this does not occur without a price, a price paid in feelings of frustration, hostility, aggression, bitterness, and confusion, which are clearly manifested in the fantasy productions of these young women. This first became evident in a comparison of the thematic apperceptive imagery of those high and low in the M-s in response to the cue "Anne is sitting in a chair with a smile on her face." Whereas more than 90 percent of those low in fear of success imagery wrote positive, primarily affiliative stories centering on such things as dates, engagements, and forthcoming marriages, as well as a few on successful achievements, less than 20 percent of those high in fear of success were of this type. The rest of the responses, if not bizarre, were replete with negative affiliative imagery centering on hostility toward or manipulation of others.

Individual differences in the strength of the M-s are assessed by the presence of fear of success imagery in thematic stories written by subjects in response to a verbal lead connoting a high level of accomplishment, particularly in a mixed sex competitive achievement situation. Thematic

apperceptive imagery connoting fear of success is defined as that in which statements are made showing:

1. The presence or anticipation of negative *consequences* because of the success, including fear of being socially rejected; fear of losing one's friends or one's eligibility as a date or marriage partner; and fear of becoming isolated, lonely, or unhappy as a result of the success.
2. Any direct or indirect expression of conflict about the success, such as doubting or wondering about one's femininity or normality, or feeling guilty and in despair about the success.
3. Denial of effort or responsibility for attaining the success, sometimes using psychologically ingenious means to change the content of the cue or simply by saying it is impossible.
4. Bizarre or inappropriate responses to the cue frequently filled with hostility or confusion, as for instance in the story in which Anne laughs at her father's funeral.

Examples

Story of Girl High in Fear of Success

Anne is recollecting her conquest of the day. She has just stolen her ex-friend's boyfriend away, right before the high school senior prom. Anne is thinking that she has proven herself socially equal to her friend. She wanted to hurt her and succeeded by taking the boyfriend away underhandedly.

Stories of Girls Low in Fear of Success

Her boyfriend has just called her. Not really boyfriend—a boy she really has wanted to go out with for ages. Anne is a very good looking girl but never thought Mr. X would ever call her.

Anne is sitting in a chair. Her mother walks into the room. Anne tells her mother that her boyfriend just called. Anne is very happy.

In the course of further studies it has become increasingly clear that once aroused the M-s was the only one of the four other psychological variables assessed which predicted female performance. The girls high in the M-s performed at a significantly lower level in a mixed-sex competitive achievement situation than they did subsequently in a strictly noncompetitive but achievement-oriented situation in which the only competition involved was with the task and one's internal standards of excellence. Those low in the M-s on the other hand, performed at a higher level in the competitive condition, as did most of the men in the study ($p < .005$). These results were consistent with the idea that the M-s is more likely to be aroused in a competitive situation, because excellence in competitive achievement activity is either consciously or unconsciously associated with a loss of

femininity and the possibility of social rejection thus becomes very real. The results of the study suggested that girls, especially those with a high M-s, would be *least* likely to develop their interests and explore their intellectual potential when competing against others, especially against men.

In the first study the verbal lead used to assess the presence of fear of success for women/men was: "At the end of first term finals Anne/John finds herself/himself at the top of her/his medical school class." In that study more than 65 percent of the 90 female stories written, compared with less than 10 percent of the 88 male stories written, contained imagery connoting fear of success.

I have argued that the M-s is a *latent*, stable personality disposition, acquired early in life in conjunction with standards of sex role identity. It was, therefore, important to determine when, for whom, at what age, and under what circumstances (other than during the college undergraduate years which is the period of life most studied by psychologists) this disposition is aroused and then serves to inhibit the achievement strivings of women. Several subsequent studies were done simply to observe the incidence of fear of success imagery in female subjects at different ages and at different educational, occupational, and ability levels. We found that the incidence of M-s ranged from a low of 47 percent in a seventh grade junior high school sample to a high of 86 percent in two samples, one of current students at Harvard Law School and the second a sample of secretaries, all of whom were very able high school graduates. In each of the college samples tested for the incidence of fear of success imagery, it ranged from 60 percent in a sample of college freshmen at a large midwestern University to 85 percent in a sample of very high ability juniors at an outstanding eastern coed University where the emphasis on achievement was very high.

In research with graduates from the Harvard Law School over the past 16 years, we tried to adopt the TAT method of assessing fear of success. This was a simpler and more manageable form that could be used as a part of a larger survey that was to be made via a mailed questionnaire. Each male and female graduate had the opportunity to describe a successful attorney of both sexes in response to these questions:

"If you were to receive an announcement that Barbara Robbins/George Andrews has become a partner in a large New York law firm, how would you describe her/him?"

"If Barbara Robbins/George Andrews, formerly president of the Harvard Law Review, had just been appointed deputy solicitor general, how would you describe her/him?"

Regardless of whether he was presented as partner or solicitor general, the question about George was first for all subjects. Evidence of M-s in each subject was taken from the description given of the successful attorney of the same sex as the subject. Although the responses to these questions can't really be considered appropriate measures of the M-s, since their

predictive validity has not yet been established, there is some evidence to suggest that negative descriptions of successful women do reflect the presence of M-s for female subjects.

The data from the law school graduates are nonetheless interesting and suggestive. Especially revealing are those that show an *increase* in negative attitudes toward the successful female, by the men in particular, in the sample who were graduated after the mid 60's, when attention began to be focused on the new freedom for women.

The following are examples of the kind of descriptions that law school students supplied which were considered as a probable reflection of the presence of a high M-s in the women.

1. (1969) Being president of Law Review is not so great—they're usually prigs. She's probably blond and frigid.
1. (1969) Unmarried, probably because most men can't handle the emotional threat posed by such a bright, aggressive girl. She's attractive, well-dressed but rather hard. Comes on too strong. Has developed a defensive attitude towards men and people in general because of having to defend her right to be a lawyer. She is of course very able.

The content of this last description reflects a concern with and an awareness of some of the *reality-based* sources of the M-s and with the price one must pay for overcoming its influence and pursuing one's interest despite it. Such responses are considerably more characteristic of the older, more successful women, such as our sample of present law school students and law school graduates, than of our younger samples of college and high school students.

What few negative attitudes were expressed toward the successful man, were focused primarily on his probably Waspish and/or dull, boring personality or, in the most recent years, on a lack of social consciousness or concern. Primarily for this latter reason, the incidence of negative attitudes toward the successful male increased dramatically in the late 60's from less than 10 percent to 18 percent.

Although the data from this study on the law school students are still being analyzed, a number of points are worth noting. There was, for instance, no significant relationship found between the presence of anxiety about success in the women and the fields of law in which they were practicing. Women, especially those rated potentially high in fear of success, changed their minds about their careers both during and after law school considerably more than did the men. At the same time they indicated more dissatisfaction with their present jobs and said they would choose an occupation (position, field of law) different from the one in which they were presently engaged significantly more often than did the men. Whereas less than 16 percent of the men said they are *not* now engaged in the occupation of their first choice, more than 36 percent of the women in the sample did so. More than 85 percent of these women were either high in

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fear of success or did not answer the questions, from which it could be assessed. It appears that many of the women, rather than fight either external discrimination and/or the internal psychological barriers that exist to achievement in women, change their minds and redirect their aspirations to less competitive "women fields." Thus they are not doing the kind of work they would most like to do and may be most capable of doing. As we have indicated before, however, this can not occur without a high price being paid either by the individual in terms of frustration and hostility and/or by society in terms of a loss of human and economic resources.

There is mounting evidence in our data suggesting that many achievement-oriented American women, especially those high in M-s, when faced with the conflict between their feminine image and developing their abilities and interests, compromise by disguising their ability and abdicating from competition in the outside world. They are just like Sally in the Peanuts cartoon who at the tender age of five says, "I never said I wanted to *be* someone. All I want to do when I grow up is to be a good wife and mother. So . . . why should I have to go to kindergarten."

In light of the terrible loss of human potential and economic resources reflected by this pattern of behavior, it seemed particularly important for us to look more intensely and critically at the factors which tend to arouse the M-s and those most effective in minimizing its influence.

We therefore undertook two studies at Radcliffe College, a school at which the students are chosen primarily because of their high ability, achievement, motivation, and previous success. Most of the students arrive at the school very ambitious and committed to the idea of distinguishing themselves in a future career, even if they are not exactly sure what it will be. But by the time they are juniors most have changed their plans toward a less ambitious more traditionally feminine direction (Tangri, 1969, found such a trend in her University of Michigan coeds). The incidence of fear of success was 75 percent in the first sample tested (this was a pilot study with an N of 16) and 84.4 percent (with an N of 45) in the second sample.

Using a questionnaire and intensive interviews we tried to explore the elements present during the college experience, both personal and situational, which arouse the M-s. Particular attention was paid to how this motive influences the educational and career aspirations of these very bright and highly motivated young women at a time in our society when self-actualization and equality of women is drawing much public attention. All the girls in the sample were doing well and had grade points of B- or better. Nevertheless, 12 of the 16, or 75 percent of these girls, showed evidence of high fear of success. They manifested their anxiety about success in such reported behaviors as:

1. Refusing to divulge the fact that they are doing well or have received an A, preferring instead to make their failures known. The more successful they were the less likely they were to want to say so. For in-

stance: All three of the girls who had straight A averages preferred to tell a boy that they have gotten a C than an A. Most of the girls with B's preferred to report an A.

2. Changing their majors and future career plans toward what *each of them considers to be for her (and this is important) a more traditional, appropriately feminine, and less ambitious one.*

Just how important it is to attend to an individual's subjective expectations and evaluation of certain careers was clearly emphasized by the subject who changed her career goals from medicine to law because "law school is less ambitious, it doesn't take long . . . is more flexible in terms of marriage and children. It is *less masculine* in that it is more accepted *now* for girls to go to law school." The others who changed their aspirations from lawyer to teacher or housewife apparently do not hold the same expectations about a law career.

Several of the girls indicated that they have given up the idea of a career at all and a couple even planned to quit school. Only two or about 12 percent of the sample have in fact changed their plans toward a more ambitious, more traditionally masculine direction. Although several of the girls had started out majoring in the natural sciences, with the intent of pursuing a medical career, all are now, as juniors, majoring in appropriately female areas like English, fine arts, French and history. This reflects what I have at other times indicated, namely: No one seriously objects to higher education in a woman provided the objective is to make her a more interesting and enlightened companion wife and/or mother. The objections arise only when the objectives become more personal and career-oriented, especially in nontraditional areas.

Two of the factors considered as potentially arousing the M-s and thus negatively influencing the achievement strivings of these girls were the attitudes of parents and of male peers toward appropriate sex role behavior. Many of the girls substantiated Komarovsky's argument that in the later college years girls experience a sudden reversal in what parents applaud them for. Whereas they have previously been applauded for academic success these girls now find themselves being evaluated in terms of some abstract standard of femininity with an emphasis on marriage as the appropriate goal for girls of this age.

There is a lot of pressure from my mother to get married and not have a career. This is *one reason I am going to have a career* and wait to get married. . . . There is also some pressure from my father to get married, too.

There was, apparently, no relationship between such shifts in parental attitudes and fear of success, nor did there appear to be any direct indication that parents had influenced anyone to turn away from a role-innovative type of career. If anything, the influence appears to be in the opposite direction as in the above example. Some girls report being motivated for

careers by the negative examples set by their mothers:

"My mother is now working as a secretary, but she didn't work until now. I don't want to end up like that."

"Another reason I am going to have a career and wait to get married is in reaction to my mother's empty life."

On the other hand, the attitude of male peers toward the appropriate role of women, which they apparently do not hesitate to express, appears to be the most significant factor in arousing the M-s in these girls. The girls who showed evidence of anxiety about success and social rejection and had altered their career aspirations toward a more traditional direction were either not dating at all (the three girls with the all A averages) or were dating men who did not approve of "career women." When asked, for instance, how the boys in their lives feel about their aspirations, even the less ambitious goals, a frequent response was "They laugh." Others were:

—"He thinks it's ridiculous for me to go to graduate school or law school."

—"He says I can be happy as a housewife and I just need to get a liberal arts education."

—"He wants a wife who will be a full-time mother until the kids are grown."

—"I am turning more and more to the traditional role because of the attitudes of my boyfriend and his roommates. I am concerned about what they think."

This last comment is consistent with the idea that women are dependent on others for their self-esteem and have difficulty believing they can function well autonomously. This is again reflected in a statement made by one of the girls high in fear of success who is planning to leave Radcliffe:

"I have a lot of ideas about what I'd like to do (water sculpture presently), but I'm waiting around for a man, and that makes me mad. I think that when I find someone I will be able to get involved in something. I need someone to respect me and what I want to do, to lend importance to what I sense is important."

The girls on the other hand who were either low in fear of success or high in fear of success but continuing to strive for innovative careers, were either engaged to or seriously dating men who were not threatened by this success. In fact, these men expected it of them, and provided them with much encouragement. This was reflected in such statements as:

"He wants me to be intelligent. It is a source of pride *to him* that I do well."

"I would have to explain myself if I got a C. I want him to think I'm as bright as he is."

"He thinks it would be a good idea for me to go to law school."

"He feels very strongly that I should go to graduate school to get a master's degree. He does not want to feel that he had denied me a

complete education."

One of the factors distinguishing the couples in this second group from those in the first is a mutual understanding that the boy is more intelligent than the girl. "He's so much smarter . . . competition with him would be hopeless." This fact or belief seems to be sufficient to keep the motive from being aroused and affecting behavior.

In the first group there exists a tension between them rooted in the fear that *she* is the more intelligent one. Other important factors seem to be based on how threatening the boyfriend sees her present and future success. For instance: Are they in the same school? Taking the same courses? Planning to go to the same graduate school or to have the same career?

"He is going to medical school, too, and we take some of the same courses. I don't compete with him, but he competes with me. I usually do better than he does and this depresses him. He resents the fact that I do better."

Clearly the problems of achievement motivation in women are more complex than simply a matter of having a more or less traditional view of the female role. A complex relationship appears to exist between the internal personality factors called motives and certain situational factors which determine the nature of the expectations a girl has about the consequences of her actions and the value of these consequences to her in that situation. Does she, for instance, care about the boy?

Unlike the girls high in fear of success who would give up their plans rather than their boyfriends, some of the girls low in fear of success indicate just the opposite, such as: "I am not going to let his thinking influence mine. I wouldn't marry him if he were adamant about this (giving up her career plans)."

Such responses are few and far between.

Succeeding at a feminine task such as becoming engaged to someone seems to have a positive effect on the achievement strivings of some women (provided the man is secure and not threatened by her success). This is indicated by a statement made by one of the girls high in fear of success who showed an increase in her career aspirations following her engagement: "In high school I was very uncomfortable about excelling. I had more of a feeling that there was something wrong with a girl succeeding. With my boyfriend, I'm much more secure."

We have only begun to appreciate the complexity of the issues involved, and as many new questions are raised in each new study as are answered. It is clear from all we have said that despite the recent emphasis on a new freedom for women, there continues to exist a psychological barrier in otherwise achievement-motivated and able women that prevents them from exercising their rights and fulfilling their potential, even if they are aware that it is happening and are angry about it. It seems that regardless of

how many legal and educational barriers to achievement we remove for women, unless ways are found to prevent the M-s from being aroused, and to keep its influence at a minimum, our society will continue to suffer a great loss in both human and economic resources.

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Matina S. Horner, president of Radcliffe College, presenting keynote address to Connecticut conference on the status of women—51% Minority.



THE CASE FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES

Sheila Tobias

Very often we teachers do not want to deal with the central issues of our time in the classroom because we feel that our job is to train our students in critical thinking and to impart those skills that will enable them to deal with the central issues of *their* lifetimes, which, of course, we can't predict.

But I would like to argue today that the subject matter of sex roles, sex temperament, and sex status in American culture is likely to continue to be relevant as our young people grow to maturity. Also, teaching women's studies is a way of introducing secondary school students to some of the disciplines in the behavioral and social sciences. Students do not generally study sociology, psychology, economics, government and public administration in secondary schools, and I would predict that women's studies could provide a problem-oriented approach to all these new disciplines.

But before I make that point, let me make a more provocative one, which is that what you are teaching now is *men's studies*. So long as we do not make a conscious effort to discuss the degree to which this is a male-dominated society, we are communicating only the conventional wisdom about sex roles, sex-linked status and sex differences. We are actually giving an unbalanced picture.

History

The Barracano-Schmidts, of Slippery Rock College in Pennsylvania, did a study of 27 textbooks in American history that are used in more than 90 percent of our college classrooms. The textbooks were analyzed on a number of scales; one test was a check list of 15 women in American history to see if these names appeared in the indexes and, if so, how they were identified. Anne Hutchison for the 17th century, Harriet Beecher Stowe for the 19th century, and Eleanor Roosevelt for the 20th century were considered *sine qua non*.

The findings are not really surprising: there was an absence of the full list of 15 names from every textbook; the women mentioned were those whose behavior was peculiar or "extreme." Two of these were Amelia Bloomer, whose unconventional "costume" was worn by feminists as a *political protest* against fashion, and Carrie Nation, depicted with an axe in her hand taking on the saloons. To be sure, Carrie Nation took a direct action

approach, but she is not equal in importance to Carrie Chapman Catt who ran a women's suffrage organization from 1912 on, which won the 19th amendment and managed 2,000,000 members. Other important feminists and women leaders such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Charlotte Gilman are also absent from college texts.

There is a very clear bias operating in the selection of materials for history books: whole sections of women's history are omitted, and the individual women selected fit negative stereotypes. As for suffrage itself, these textbooks hardly mention suffrage at all. In a well-known textbook, Samuel Eliot Morison discusses women's suffrage along with prohibition in a chapter headed, "Bootlegging and Other Sports." The Schmidts conclude from all of this that there is a serious bias in American history books regarding women.

Literature

When one analyzes anthologies, there are similar biases operating. Chances are that not a single woman writer or poet will be included. Typically, the woman writer is not treated as we treat women writers in our women's studies courses. Traditional evaluations fall in a category called "phallic criticism," where the values against which women writers are judged are those of the male world. One example noted by Virginia Woolf is that Tolstoy's subject matter is always considered more significant than Jane Austen's because he was writing about wars and political change and Jane Austen was interested in interpersonal relationships. Hardly a critic or teacher exists who doesn't share the view that what happens in a drawing room between two people is not nearly as important as what happens on a battlefield between armies.

Although women writers have survived, their works are still undervalued or entirely unknown to students. No college English course was likely to include works of Doris Lessing several years ago, though she is a major political writer of the post-war English-speaking world. Now, however, the forgotten prose of Kate Chopin and the poetry of Anne Sexton, Denise Levertov, and Sylvia Plath are accepted as significant as well as good.

Psychology

In psychology behavioral differences between males and females are not usually discussed in the context of sex role socialization; rather, they are portrayed as largely innate. New research which challenges these assumptions is not included in a traditional course. But worst of all are the textbooks on family life which present the nuclear family, with its particular division of labor, as inevitable.

Female Personality

The Wesleyan course is called *The Social Role of Women in America*, and it has four parts. Part I deals with female personality and this immediately involves the students because no one has ever before asked them to examine "female personality" in a systematic way. The key issue is to what extent female behavior is innate or learned. In the process we have to define female behavior. We begin by listing common characteristics assumed to be feminine. We discuss passivity, dependency, fear of success, ambivalence toward achievement, emotionalism, and nurturance. This immediately raises questions in the students' minds about their own preferences. If a woman is programmed to be passive, dependent, a follower, and to seek achievement only in interpersonal relations, even equal opportunities cannot guarantee her an equal status. Her whole personality has been geared for another role.

We cannot provide conclusive evidence on the nature of female personality, but we can share the knowledge that much research is going to have to be done over, and that as role behavior is reinforced there are "causes" and "effects" we may never untangle. Margaret Mead's study of *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* causes students to wonder why our definitions of "masculine" and "feminine" are so narrow. In one primitive society she found that what we consider normal for males and females in our culture was expected of the opposite sex.

Female Role

In the section on female role, we raised the question: Are women a class or a caste? This question leads to a discussion as to whether women might one day unite politically because they share a fundamental alienation. This is a crucial problem for the movement because black women and white working class women wonder whether women's liberation is relevant to them. Or is it mainly for the white professionals?

In a 1951 article, "Women as a Minority Group," Helen Hacker argues that there is something discernible as "minority behavior" that is common to both Negroes and to women. One characteristic is a kind of self-hate that causes women to despise other women. Just as upwardly mobile Negroes preferred lighter-skinned to darker-skinned Negroes, women preferred men to women. This self-hate indicated that the minority group mistrusted its own perceptions and adopted the values of the oppressor. Just as blacks have allowed whites to determine what was beautiful, women have allowed men to define what was female.

We also review cases before the courts where women have been denied equal rights and as a result have had to fight now for an equal rights amendment. In the course of the historical treatment, we also discuss the conflict between Negroes and feminists brought about by postemancipation

politics.

In the sociology of the family we discuss historical background in Puritan and Victorian families. Important demographic facts are included, such as that two out of five women died in childbirth in the 19th century, that the average number of pregnancies was nine, that the average family was a dual-mother family since the father survived the first wife who died in childbirth. Yet not all historians are sensitive to the female dimension. Chadwick Hensen's *Witchcraft in Salem*, though a very revisionist book, is written as if the witches did not happen to be women.

Women as Alien

Next we turn to the subject of the woman as alien in American culture. Here the student goes through familiar themes in American history, but the approach is new. We evaluate the meaning of the wild West and the cowboy hero; we talk about Norman Mailer and "Mailerism" in 20th century America.

In our section on art, we learn that most *schooled* artists were men, and that women participated in *popular* art which was of lower value. Similar undervaluing of women took place in literature too. When *Wuthering Heights* by Emily Bronte, was first published it appeared under a male pseudonym, and the first reviews approached the characterization of Heathcliff as a "symbol of freedom" or a "male figure." The next edition was published under Bronte's real name so that her female identity was established. Heathcliff then became a character that was *badly* drawn, unbelievable, unrealistic, and the book's theme was no longer "clear." Carol Ohmann gave this information to the class last year in a lecture on Bronte criticism.

Woman as Subject

When we examine political responses by women, we cover the history of suffrage, birth control, and the rise and fall of the "feminine mystique." We show that the women's liberation movement is part of an historical response which began with Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1793).

Women's Studies Nationwide

There are now more than 650 college courses on women. Two years ago there were 17. Three volumes of syllabi on women's studies have been published and are available from KNOW, Inc., 726 St. James Place, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15232. The syllabi are brief summaries of women's studies courses on the college level. On the secondary school level courses are beginning to develop, but remain about two years behind the college level.

As you know, women's studies courses first appeared in coeducational

colleges, and later in the women's schools. In many places, the courses were closed to men on grounds that women could not discuss issues frankly with men present. At Cornell and at Wesleyan my courses have always been coed, and teaching men has been part of my own consciousness-raising. Men are as victimized by sex role stereotypes as are women; many find the "masculine mystique" appalling and look forward to living in a more "androgynous" society. Hence they are anxious to learn more about it. Still there is a difference in their response. For the women students, the issues are always more urgent.



Sheila Tobias, associate provost,
Wesleyan University, describing
women's studies courses.

HOW YOU GOING TO KEEP US DOWN ANYMORE?

*New Haven Women's
Liberation Rock Band*

Hi. We're the New Haven Women's Liberation Rock Band and we're really glad to be here today at the CEA. Some of us have been teachers, some of us are teachers, and we've all been taught. Here we are trying very hard to overcome all the dollhouse corners, all the home economics, and all the cheer leading squads. That's Jennifer over there who does the singing, and Ginny on the French horn, Rika on the guitar, Karen on the trombone and sax, Pat on the bass, Leah on flute, Judy back here on the drums, and Harriet with the guitar.

In this next song we're trying to make up a little of the history of women that we never learned in our school books. When we play, we usually talk a bit about how we feel, about our culture, rock music and being hip. When the band first got together, we asked ourselves, What kind of music shall we play? Even though we had a French horn, we knew we'd never succeed as a symphony orchestra. Opera was out, and Salvation Army music was seasonal at best. Only folk music was left it seemed, but Kit the trombone player said, "Wait a minute. What about us brass instruments?" And Rika wanted to play the electric guitar. Judy wanted to play the drums. "If all we're doing is playing and singing sad songs by the river, how can I play the drums?" So we thought, Why not rock music?

OOOHH! Not rock music. Women aren't supposed to play rock music. Rock is loud and fast, hard, aggressive and electrical. Women might get a shock. But then we said to ourselves, Now wait a minute. We grew up with rock. We danced to it, did our homework to it. Rock is our culture.

Then we took another look at that culture. We heard James Brown on the radio, "It's a man's, man's, man's world . . ." or "Shake your hips, girl, and keep them weak." Mick Jagger sings, "Look at that stupid girl," and Led Zeppelin says, "I'm going to give you every inch of my love, way down inside." No way for us.

Looking at the rock culture with which we grew up we found assault, instead of fun and dancing and music. Just look at the assault: Powder Ridge and Altamont, where several people were killed. We saw, what's his name, Frank Zappa, laughing at all those groupies. And Jimmy Hendrix, rapping and burning his guitar on stage. This new hippy, dippy love, peace, liberated rock culture was just like all the rest—anti-female, anti-human,

assaultive, egotistic, individualistic, death-rape-violence trips that have been laid on us by our society. Look what they've done. They've taken everything, including the rock culture we thought was ours, and used it against us. It's time we took it back and made it something better.

Now we can't be the old rock. It has to be fun and dancing and music. It has to be an affirmation of ourselves and of all humanity. It has to make absolutely clear that we're not anybody's little girl or chick or groupie or back-street girl or brown sugar girl. We're not anybody's old lady. And if that's what passes for love in rock music, they can have it—every inch of it. Mick Jagger sings, "My woman, she's under my thumb. And it's all right." All right for whom? It's not all right for us. And it's never going to be all right again.



New Haven Women's Liberation Rock Band informs as it entertains.



Informal gathering of conference participants—51% *Minority*.

SEX ROLE STEREOTYPES IN THE CLASSROOM

Shirley McCune

Much of the discussion today has focused on programs for women at high school or college level. During this workshop we hope to examine how sex role stereotypes are perpetuated in the elementary school.

A key resource for learning in the elementary classroom is the teacher. Each of us brings with us our own beliefs, attitudes, and values. We have thousands of beliefs, a few hundred attitudes (beliefs we feel emotionally about) but only a few values which serve as our indicators of good or bad. These are the guiding principles for our lives.

We are dealing with women's issues and stereotypes. We are not just dealing with beliefs or attitudes. We are concerned with values—our own values and the building of a climate where children can learn their values.

Stereotypes represent a manifestation of our values. They are the generalities or guidelines we use to organize our behavior. This morning we want to continue our explorations of our own attitudes, values, and stereotypes and then determine how they affect the children we teach.

Girls in my classroom ———

Boys in my classroom ———

I would like girls to ———

I would like boys to ———

After you have written down your answers, then turn to your neighbor and compare your answers.

The following comments are representative of those made during the total group reporting:

"I found my own attitude does have an influence in my class. I recently discovered that I expect different things from boys than I do from girls. And that I'm harder on the girls than the boys. I expect a girl to be able to achieve scholastically, to behave in a socially acceptable manner, and to use language that is more suitable. If she misused language, I would probably lecture her. If a boy did, I would probably be less exasperated. I do expect more from girls anyway."

"Well, I was just looking back to a teaching experience I had about six years ago. I haven't had a chance to get in with new attitudes but I do remember that there was a definite difference in the behavior of boys in my class. I think I expected different behavior. I wanted the boys to calm down. I don't think I'd be like that now. I can see the difference in my own attitudes."

"I didn't find a pattern because I don't make any difference in my classroom. There are girls' things and boys' things, so I find it difficult to say I would like girls to ——— or I would like boys to ———. I don't have girls' rows and boys' rows. I have people. In the gym, the girls want girls' games and the boys want boys' games. The girls can climb the ropes as fast as the boys. There's no difference."

"I think I've eliminated an awful lot of differential treatment of boys and girls by offering kids the same learning possibilities without distinction to sex. If a girl wants to make a volcano, she may, or a bird house, or a workbench. In earlier times shop was only for the boys and girls never touched the shop machines. I think discrimination manifests itself in involvement in learning styles. In an open classroom students are freer to act out whatever is inhibiting. Therefore there's less need for allowing openness to the boy that's swinging from the chandelier for example."

"I notice it when the children stand in line. The girls are quiet and ready to go, but the boys push, shove and fool around. Invariably I tell the boys to stop talking, but I very rarely have to speak to the girls."

"The only time I see a difference is when we change classes, three times a week, and they have made a boys' line and a girls' line. If a boy gets in the wrong line, the other boys say, 'You're in the wrong line.' The boys get in one line, the girls in the other. I neither encourage nor discourage it. That's just the way it is."

"But in reality it doesn't. It starts when a teacher comes along and says, 'Let's have the boys line here and the girls line here.' I've never had a boys' line and a girls' line. In fact I resent the other teachers who do it. It may go back to the way things were when I was a student. All the boys had to go through one door and all the girls through another, and I resented it. As soon as I became a teacher I stopped having boys' lines and girls' lines. Because we're people."

"I object to the way students dress today. It's hard to tell girls from boys. I don't like getting rid of all the femininity or all the masculinity. The teacher as well as the family can exert influence. My big argument is that intellectually there should be no difference in expectations from girls and boys. Well, I don't like to look like men, nor do I like to talk like they do. That doesn't mean I have to be a weakling. I never ask any special ground because I am female. Who was the Frenchman who said, *vive la difference?*"

Dr. McCune: One of the most important things about our ideas of

masculinity and femininity is that there are very few differences. Our society has exaggerated the differences so that the counter culture you've heard about today may be a response to this pressure. If girls stay dressed in frilly dresses, things won't change. To keep girls in frilly little dresses immediately says where she is and what she can do. It limits her world.

Let's take the example of textbooks. The usual way girls are pictured in textbooks is indoors; they're not exploring. The illustrations are smaller than for boys. Girls are always smaller than boys. Sometimes girls are not shown in pictures. They do not explore the world to achieve and accomplish in it. Look at textbooks in this new way and I think you'll find that the message is very clear: the role of femininity is to be passive, to stay indoors. The problem is that each of us has learned this and so what we're dealing with is a fundamental values change. In other words, there are rules for life and the values I was taught are no longer valid in the world I live in, because the world has changed. Now I have to figure out how I can maintain some sense of my own values and yet not interfere with other people's right to different values.

What I'm very much concerned about in the women's movement is that we've made people, men and women, feel guilty. Instead of looking at it as right and wrong, we could begin to see the problem as one of change. If you haven't read the book *Future Shock* by Alvin Toffler I would advise you to read it because I think it's the most important book for all educators. What Toffler is saying is that the problem of our country, our culture, and the world culture is not a question of being wrong. Rather it's a question of the rate of change happening so quickly that we don't have time to stabilize and learn how to cope with the change.

What one piece of research shows is that whenever we're dealing with change individually, we go through predictable stages. The first stage we have is shock.

Now in the women's movement, how many times have you heard, What do women want? What is the trouble? There's that kind of shock about it. The second stage we all go through is denial. How many women, particularly teachers, have you heard say, "Oh, I don't feel anything's wrong. I'm happy being feminine?" As if femininity were the issue. The third step, perhaps one of the most interesting psychologically, is the fact that we feel a sense of guilt. Why didn't I realize this? I often look back on my life and think of the way I accepted traditional stereotypes. Why didn't I see through it then? Why was I so dumb? That's the kind of guilt I go through when experiences are played back through my mind. I think of how I contributed to stereotyping other girls, limiting their possibilities. Because we can't live with this very long, we then project it onto other people very quickly. The way you project it is by saying, "That's a bunch of crazies" or, "that's their problem. I don't have to deal with it." The fifth step is integration and that's what I think most of you are beginning to think about.

How do I change in my life? How do I rethink all my values, my attitudes, and my behaviors. Last is a final acceptance of the change functions.

There's another suggestion I'd like to add, and that is to use women as a resource for help or for assistance. Many times in school, women faculty members tend to go to the male faculty members or principal for assistance, instead of seeking out other women. The kind of support you're talking about begins and happens at classroom levels before it can affect other leadership functions. Help support other women rather than leave them out there all by themselves to do battle. That will be a real start toward the solution of problems!

SEX ROLE SOCIALIZATION

Gail Shea

A two-part workshop was developed where Phase I served as a presentation for developing the discussion in Phase II. Phase I surveyed current knowledge on sex differences to help participants sort out which are real or innate, and which are learned. Differences were examined under headings such as biological-chromosomal, biological-hormonal, physical, and psychological. Discussion in Phase II related this knowledge to classroom situations. Both phases are summarized below.

Biological-Chromosomal. Each individual has 23 pairs of chromosomes. One of these pairs controls sexual development. In females this pair is two similar (XX) chromosomes, and in males two dissimilar (XY) chromosomes. The Y chromosome is responsible for male development, not the lack of the second X. Thus the female can be considered the basic sex.

Sex-linked disorders are more common in males than in females, and the theory is that a genetic advantage accounts for the lower female death rate and higher resistance to infection. However, there does seem to be a genetic basis for the fact that males are muscularly stronger.

Biological-Hormonal. While the study of hormones is in its infancy, we know that hormones are important in determining sex differences. Though both sexes produce hormones of the opposite sex, it is the high level of male hormones that make a male a male, not a lack of female hormones. Again, the female is the basic sex.

The role of hormones for both sexes at puberty is well known, but it is not clear for other stages in the life cycle. Current research is looking into the role of hormones in prenatal development. Another direction is to study hormonal fluctuations in men in relationship to behavior. Earlier research has focused on hormonal swings experienced by women, and the effect of this on their behavior. Investigation of this topic leads to the complex issue of the relationship between hormonal secretions and behavior.

Physical Differences. Some of the most commonly noted physical sex differences are as follows: (a) Females have less muscle and more fat. (b) Females have less muscular strength. (c) Females weigh less. (d) Females tend to be less well coordinated, except for fine hand movement. (e) Females mature physically more rapidly. and (6) Females live longer. The danger with stated facts such as these is that more is read into them than should be. The question that needs to be asked here does not concern the face validity of the statements, but the causal factors behind these facts.

Until the question of cause is asked, people assume these differences are innate. It is this assumption that must be reexamined: for example, the evidence is strong in support of greater muscular strength for males, but what about the fact that our society channels behavior of the sexes so as to increase this difference? Females are discouraged from taking on tasks that will develop greater muscular strength. While muscular strength seems to be the principal female physical liability, it is important to ask how great a handicap this is in our civilized, mechanized society? The answer should be obvious.

Psychological Differences. When we look at psychological sex differences, the problem of heredity versus environment is compounded. The environment plays a role not only in shaping behavior, but also in the tests used to measure differences between the sexes. As societal stereotypes are built into tests of differences in behavior of the sexes, the test results become highly questionable.

Another psychological sex difference is that of achievement orientation. Since this topic is treated in detail by Matina Horner, suffice it to say here that the environmental factors seem to play the most crucial role—perhaps to the point of perverting the innate differences. Females underestimate abilities while males overestimate. Females underachieve while males achieve.

Where sex differences in behavior are concerned, heredity and environment are not in close interaction. It is difficult to see how any type of behavior associated with a particular sex could not be associated with either sex, granting changes in our culture.

Sex Role Stereotypes. The foundations for learned sex role stereotypes in our society go back to pre-industrial-revolution days when ours was an agrarian society. Many adults died young. Disease was not controlled. Families were large. Children were an economic asset needed to help on the farm. The family was the economic and social unit as well as the center of life. Tasks were divided between the sexes, the male usually handling heavy work in the fields, and the female taking care of things closer to home and performing functions vital to the household. The children also helped and the mother spent more time working with them than simply mothering them. Tasks in that era were distributed on a somewhat rational basis.

As the industrial revolution advanced, the agrarian society slowly vanished, and urbanism took over. Infectious diseases were conquered; the death rate was lowered. The household was no longer the center of economic and social activity, nor the place of work. Children became an economic liability rather than an asset. The male left the household to earn money, but the female stayed at home—with diminishing responsibilities. She had less work, fewer children, and more healthy years. Some people contend that the situation of contemporary women who stay at home leads to frustration and overmothering of children. Though society has changed,

traditional ways of organizing daily activity remain unchangeable even though they are no longer functional. Thus the gap between the structural and cultural aspects of our society grow wider. This is most evident in the area of sex roles.

The Socialization Process. Children learn to behave within the limits prescribed by the sex role stereotypes through the socialization process. The process perpetuates the stereotypes and the problems discussed above such as the gap between culture and structure. The two key socializing institutions in our society are the family and the school. It is important that teachers understand the role they play, especially at the elementary level, in perpetuating or breaking down sex role stereotypes.

The following questions emerged in the discussion phase of the workshop:

1. Can the socialization process be changed?
2. How can this process be changed? (Focused on the two major institutions—family and school.)
3. What specific aspects of school systems perpetuate stereotypes and how are these alterable? (Discussed discipline, counseling, student activities, textbooks, and sex of teacher.)

The liveliest discussions focused on trying to understand the reasons for and implications of teaching at the elementary and secondary levels, as well as teaching being stereotyped as a female profession.

MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY

*Joan Mosher, Workshop Director
Rainer Doost, Karne Korn, Paul Korn
and Guler Okman, Co-Trainers*

We opened the workshop by informing the participants of our objective, procedure, and rationale. Our objective was to heighten their awareness of the differences in their personal responses to males and females in the classroom, and the method employed was experience-based learning. Experience-based learning starts with one's own personal experience rather than from expert opinion. While it is possible to learn from any ongoing experience, it is often useful to design some focused activity which can serve as a basis for learning. By involving the learner affectively, cognitively, and behaviorally in an activity, the learning becomes concrete and relevant. After the person has engaged actively in a structured experience, then discussion is used to form inductively some generalizations from the learner's experience.

Our procedure was to have the participants silently think of their favorite male and favorite female students. After identifying their favorite students, they were to remember the characteristics and behaviors of those students that delighted them. The remainder of the session was devoted to a sharing and discussing of those remembered experiences. By focusing on their unique responses to the sexes and making their perceptions and reactions concrete, we hoped to increase their awareness of their contribution to the perpetuation of traditional sex stereotypes. Bringing one's personal sexism into awareness does not guarantee change, but it allows for choice and diminishes the possibility of perpetuating the system unwittingly.

The transcript which follows is an excerpt from one of the sessions. Comments by the workshop leader are in italics and all other dialogue is by the participants in the workshop. The author's analysis of the commentary appears in brackets at the end of each subtopic discussed.

"In working with children who have difficulties but are average or above average, I found that in the girl and boy who are sort of my favorites, the boy is more so. He's very, very quiet, but he's much more open with me about how he feels. We've got a good rapport, whereas the girl won't reveal what her feelings are. If I say, You're mad today, aren't you? What's going on? She'll smile because I know she's mad but she won't tell me why. The boy however, will tell me why."

"Therefore you would say she's willing to express her feelings but only—

"Only if I've already shown that I know what they are. I think it's sort of a protective cover-up."

[The workshop opened with a teacher stating her preference for a male student over a female student. The girl's difficulty in expressing anger is not surprising in a culture where females are encouraged to inhibit their angry feelings. What is significant here is that adherence to the rules has negative consequences for the girl in her relationship with her teacher. This is the first of several instances in this transcript where girls are penalized for following the cultural prescription for feminine role behaviors.

The inhibition of negative feelings is viewed as a concomitant of the charge to women to be accommodating. Females are expected to yield to others' requirements or demands and hold their own needs in abeyance. The presence of angry feelings signifies a violation of this norm. Yet it is not possible to be or remain close to another without bruising feelings, and some way must be found to deal with these feelings if the relationship is to endure. In a relationship where both sexes are represented, the emergence of negative feelings is more likely because of the male's greater freedom in this area. One can readily see how the problem is compounded in a relationship with two females. One more factor that works against intimacy among women!]

"I find the more flippancy, articulation, and free discussion, the happier the group is. On the other hand, I find it's an unusual situation, when a boy says something back to me that's rather flippant I feel that I can accept it. I find that I'm getting a hang-up on accepting the same type of thing from a girl the same age. I turn her off."

[This is an excellent example of a behavior that is accepted for males and not for females. For a school-aged boy to respond in a flippant manner is seen as a cute display of masculine arrogance while the same behavior in girls violates our conception of feminine demureness and politeness.

This teacher is turned off by behavior that departs from the traditional female role while the first teacher desired nontraditional behavior from her favorite girl student. This disagreement about what is valued and prized in girls probably results in the girls' charting a conservative course, which reduces the chance of nontraditional behaviors occurring and being encouraged.]

"It's hard for you to accept it."

"Yes, to react to it in a positive way."

"The little girl that I work with likes to make burpy noises and things like that. When she looked at me and said, 'That's not very ladylike, is it?' I said,

'No, but it's fun to do it when you can do it, isn't it?' And in that context it was fine for her to do it."

[This woman is very aware of the discomfort in always being a lady. She makes it quite clear to the little girl that her unladylike behavior is acceptable in this situation but warns her that it may not always be so.]

"I find it harder with a boy, to tell him why he should not be flippant. I mean with a girl you can say, you know, You're supposed to be ladylike."

[A knowledge of societal norms facilitates understanding of a teacher's impotence in the face of a male student talking back to her. There are two norms that would influence behavior in that situation: (a) Women are expected to yield to male dominance and assertiveness. (b) Women are encouraged to guard against any direct communication that might be regarded as an assault on the male ego. Research evidence reveals circuitous speech in females as early as two and one-half years (Goodenough, 1957). Because of these norms the teacher takes several risks in challenging the impertinence of her male students: (a) any violator of these norms risks having his masculinity or her femininity devalued. (b) There is the danger that the student may escalate his aggression to regain his sense of masculinity. (c) People like to be associated with others who manifest characteristics that are valued in the culture and the teacher might be fearful that her behavior will discourage her male pupils from being assertive and from being valued males in the society.]

"O.K. You don't have to now, but you realize the difference and when to do it and when not. A boy really should realize when he should do it and when he should not do it too. I guess be a gentleman."

"Shouldn't we stop this sort of behavior modification based on conduct becoming to ladies and gentlemen? Or do we stop it only in situations where it's disturbing someone else?"

"Umhummm."

"Before going into an open discussion, I wonder if it wouldn't help to stick more to the topic. I see a sort of problem discussion developing, and I'd like to see more generation of specifics. The behavior you were discussing tends toward the dimension of politeness and etiquette. In other words, we may be saying that we expect girls to be polite but we don't expect it of boys. Is politeness in girls one of the factors that we find attractive? Do you?"

The response went as follows: "I know. I think so. I think probably I feel that I expect girls to be more polite and I'm attracted to that quality in them. I have very few males. I'm in the home economics program and I teach, and I have only six boys right now. I think probably it turns me off a little bit when a girl is impolite. I didn't realize it until I brought it up. It seems more rude in girls."

"To get back to admirable characteristics, I came to the conclusion I admired independence, both in the male and the female. Therefore I seek this out more in my students."

"Can we talk a little bit about the form it might take?"

"Well, my class is remedial class two. I teach all foreign-born students, most of whom speak very little English. I have Greek, French, Spanish, Portuguese, everything. When they can learn to do something on their own, they learn to survive.

"I want my students to become independent, to learn to read. The male-female differences for them come from their foreign culture and their feelings towards their mothers. In European cultures and most South American cultures, the female is close to nothing. Although she's mother, that's all she is. As a female I sense they don't respect me as a teacher. But they should. I try to understand that they have to act like their mother or father. I never tell the boys to be nonaggressive because they see their fathers as aggressive. I never tell the women to become more aggressive or to try harder to be more successful, because they know all they will be are mothers."

[Even though this woman is bothered by the lack of respect for her and the low value placed on women in their mother culture, she hesitates to intervene and thereby perpetuates the sex role stereotypes. Unless someone is willing to challenge the cultural stereotypes, neither the boys nor the girls will learn more role flexibility. If the boys are not taught to channel their aggression, they may not survive. If the girls are not encouraged in their independence, their possibilities are limited. They may even come to accept this teacher's implicit view that "all they will be are mothers" which implies a derogation of the mothering role.]

"You're saying that independence is an important quality."

"Right."

"Is that in the same dimension as aggressiveness and assertiveness? What is it that they do that you would say, That's good, you're being independent?"

"Working on their own and not doing just what I assign. Not continually asking for answers or help, but being able to look up answers on their own. It may not sound like much for many students, but for my foreign-born students it is."

"Would you say you have more difficulty fostering this type of behavior on the part of the girls?"

"Not necessarily. It's just about equal in my class. I find this independence a difference within the sex itself."

[Becoming aware of individual difference within sex groups is an important start in getting away from sex role stereotypes.]

"In one class where they do group planning I find that there'll be some girls who are real learners who can't make any kind of decision by themselves. Other groups will get together, pool their resources, come up with the best answer they have among the four of them, and then ask me, Does that sound all right to you?"

"Confidence? Is it a problem of self-confidence?"

"Some girls are very dependent, which is a distasteful quality."

[One thing which contributes to stereotyping is the extent to which people polarize behavior and attach positive and negative weights to the poles. In this discussion, independence is valuable and dependence is distasteful. This dichotomy is an oversimplification of a very complex issue. Everyone has dependency needs; the important question is how they are distributed and met.]

"What quality turns you on?"

"Independence. But the boys that I tend to get in marriage and family living courses and my food courses tend to be 'leaner-type' boys, perhaps because we've just opened it up coeducationally."

[This statement may be revealing of a stereotype about males who are interested in topics traditionally reserved for females exhibiting "female" characteristics. Keeping males locked into their sex roles is another way to perpetuate sexism. Because of the complementary nature of the sex roles, one sex cannot be free until both are.]

"Dependence is undesirable?"

"Were we supposed to be picking out our favorite students?"

"Yes. Favorite male student and favorite female student."

"I was trying to think of it. It seems I could easily identify a male student, and this is after many years of teaching, but I find it very difficult to identify a favorite female student because the characteristics I like tend to be found in boys rather than girls. Though I may like girls and enjoy them, I do not really enjoy myself unless it's with boys because they are funny. They have senses of humor. They will be outgoing. They will talk to you. They will tell you what they are thinking. Girls will tend to just sit there which can be very nice with 15 aggressive, loud boys in the class. Merely trying to cope with the boys and all their little emotional kinds of problems tends to prevent me from bringing out the girls."

[Here's a classic example of a woman whose preference for males is so strong that she cannot even identify a favorite female student. The quiet girls serve her convenience, but she really enjoys coping with the boisterous boys. The payoff to the girls for their conformity seems minimal. They do not get the attention in the classroom that they deserve nor do they get any effective involvement with their teacher.]

"You said you had trouble thinking of a favorite girl. Did you ever come up with one?"

"Of those I would like it would probably be more a situation of best relationship, this would be in terms of being assertive and independent, rather than defining a favorite girl."

"How much of this is—"

"My personality?"

"I mean in all the things we've been saying, how much of it is the girls are this way and the boys are this way. Or how much of it is that we have learned to value male characteristics, quote, unquote, rather than female characteristics?"

"I think I look at it just as a matter of who do I enjoy on a personal level more. In terms of the classroom I enjoy the males because they do the kind of things they do. This year, after studying male and female roles, I changed some of the ways I handle the class and have allowed much more freedom and openness, with the resulting increase in noise level. As a result, the girls have become much more enjoyable: they're outgoing and independent. At times funny, they try the high jinks that you usually find only in the boys."

[In spite of this teacher's preference for boys, she has learned that girls can be more outgoing and independent if the classroom atmosphere is conducive to it. The results of this experiment are congruent with a substantial body of research that shows the key role of environmental expectations in influencing the behavior of females: they use external clues to guide their behavior more frequently than do males. This bit of information is useful to those who want to change women and the schools that socialize them.]

"But I think you do have a point that the girls who are most exciting to the teachers tend to be following boys. Did anybody think of a girl who would not fit into these things that we have listed as desirable. Social awareness, aggressiveness, are very, very important qualities."

"As a teacher, I would be excited by a girl who can take a rubber band and go 'whish.' I would holler at her I think but—famous last words."

[The striking contradiction between the verbal and the nonverbal messages in that communication is another example of the unclear expectations for girls in the educational establishment. It is also another example of the affective enjoyment that teachers derive from behaviors that have been traditionally reserved for the male of the species. Why is it that these teachers get so much vicarious pleasure from these behaviors? Is it because these behaviors have been taboo for them because of their gender?]

"I like the girl because she's like the boy. I know that."

"I have a feeling that the people who are here do admire male characteristics."

"It bothers me. I don't know if it bothers any of you. When a girl student challenges you or you feel that your authority is being challenged, do you feel perturbed?"

"I used to but I don't now."

"I feel that my boys challenge me. Of course, I'm taking a psychology course and I find my girls much more assertive in their opinions and much more willing to express themselves than my boys. I feel threatened more by the boys than I do by my girls."

"Do you feel you have to prove yourself to them?"

"To the boys? Yes."

"I feel that too, and I just became aware of it from what you said. You really have to perform better for boys."

[The norms governing male-female relationships in this culture have obviously influenced the interaction that our female participants have with their male pupils. The performance fears that this woman experiences with male students is a conflict that arises from the cultural conditioning of females and probably would not be characteristic of male teachers. Anxiety about male criticism in the classroom probably stems from the fact that an important source of a woman's worth and status in this culture comes from men's response to her. That a mature woman would be concerned about younger males' evaluation of her performance is testimony to the strength of the norm and its ability to transcend age and status boundaries.]

"Is that something you like?"

"I don't like the boys looking at me saying, Well, perform for me. It makes me angry."

[I wonder if she is able to express this or if her conception of the feminine role leaves her stewing in her own juices.]

"Everyone's going to be intimidated . . . the opposite characteristic to what we like is acceptance and cooperation—accepting people as they are and being willing to share working at a task. What is more typically male behavior and male sex roles are being expressed as favored characteristics. Some of the greatest opposition to women leaders, whether we're talking about sex roles in school or elsewhere, is the opposition from women themselves rather than from men, and I'm wondering if characteristics of men are preferred over those of women. That's one question. Much of the attitudes that we have regarding the sex roles of boys and girls, men and women, starts at the elementary level where we have a predominance of women teachers. I wonder

whether we're perpetuating the attitude because of the women who happen to be the teachers, and if this is so, we are really our own worst enemies."

"Many teachers will not accept girls who are happy, jumpy, and aggressive. They want the girls to be mostly quiet, placid little girls who don't give any trouble because the boys are problems."

"I think that men are just as apt to reinforce this role identity as women are. In a film I saw, females started out with different abilities and talents, but ended up as housewives and mothers. In a nursery school situation, all the little girls were dressed as the mommas in the corner playing with dolls and cooking pies, but the boys were directed into block building, trucks, and sand toys. Then I wondered what would happen if men got into nursery school. I realized probably the same thing, for male teachers would have the girls as mothers and the boys as fathers."

"The thing that bothers me, not only about women's liberation, but in other spheres, is that women's values are rated unfavorably. We're saying that being aggressive and independent is a good thing in this world. We're not saying let them be what they want to be. Let them be whatever they want to be, not just women becoming men. Let the boys cook; they've never cooked before. Let them make cookies if they want."

[As this teacher is saying and as this dialogue with teachers vividly illustrates, the functions set aside for women in this culture are not highly valued. One solution to this problem is to get more women into functions usually reserved for men and discourage behaviors that have been identified with women. Much of the thrust and energy of the women's liberation movement has been in this direction. Their push is for greater employment opportunities for women, and laws and facilities that would free women from their mothering role to take advantage of those opportunities. In spite of the low regard for them, women's functions are crucial to the survival of the society and they cannot be cast aside without debilitating consequences. Everyone is familiar with the aspect of the female role that attends to physical needs, but the crucial role in psychological maintenance has only recently been identified. Further disregard of the psychological maintenance functions can only be disastrous for our society. It is my belief that our neglect of human needs and overemphasis on instrumental values have made a substantial contribution to the dehumanization of our organizations and the social problems that abound in our society. We need to reverse that trend, not augment it.]

There is ample evidence in this transcript of the school's contribution to the perpetuation of traditional values for the sexes. More importantly, the session reveals *how* sexism is fostered in the educational institutions. The prizing of males and the characteristics that are identified with males, the

modeling of traditional values and behaviors by the adults, the reservation in challenging sexism even when it is not valued, and the contradictory messages given girls about appropriate behaviors are universal in educators, but they are areas to search in the diagnosing of sexism in other groups.

The diagnostic information that has been collected on this group of teachers would be useful in any effort to reduce the sexism of these teachers. If I were charged with such a task, my efforts would be directed to three areas: (a) their devaluation of themselves, other females, and "female" characteristics; (b) the patterns of communication with their students; (c) the norms governing their behavior in the classroom. The first goal would be to increase their awareness of their current behavior and its consequences. Until one is aware of *what* one does, one is in no position to change it. After awareness comes experimentation with new behaviors. Often the two work in tandem. The difficulty that is experienced with new behaviors is testimony to the entrenchment of the old and it provokes awareness of the habitual. On the other hand, awareness often defines the dimensions of new directions.

To increase the value placed on themselves, other females and "female" characteristics, I would use structured exercises, fantasy, and small group discussions to highlight the contribution that females and "female" characteristics have made to their lives, others' lives and the viability of society. Behaviors that have been given a negative connotation by society would be reconstrued for their positive features.

Role playing would be an excellent device for uncovering mixed messages and practicing new patterns of communication. Role playing requiring the reversal of the usual sex roles would emphasize the norms governing the behavior of the participants and provide experimentation with new behaviors at the same time.

SEX AND THE LAW

Shirley Bysiewicz

My brother was one of six children, five of whom were girls. He never married. We lived next door to a family of six girls. So there was my brother surrounded by thirteen women including the two mothers. So you see I was born a feminist. I now have four children, three of them girls, which adds to my interest in the movement. I love teachers because four of the six members in my family entered the teaching field, and one of my sisters even married a teacher. You know I'm on the right side.

You learned from Matina Horner that historically women were inferior, and psychologically some of us feel inferior. The story is no different in the law. The legal status of women, as I study it, is inferior to men. And that's why we need an Equal Rights Amendment. For 49 years, since 1923, the Equal Rights Amendment has been introduced into every session of Congress, but it has failed consistently until this year. Perhaps because this is an election year we got it passed. Yet it still has to be ratified by three-fourths of the states which will take about a year. Then there is a two-year provision before it takes effect. Connecticut voted it down in 1972, but it may be brought up again in 1973.

In my study of constitutional law, it is disappointing to learn how the law for women has not developed. The wording of the Supreme Court is typically stereotyped, where the woman belongs at home, the man at work. The cases are old and the language is ridiculous, but the law still holds.

In 1872, in *Bradwell vs. Illinois*, the woman wanted to practice law. She was married. And the Supreme Court of the United States did not allow her to practice, stating:

The paramount destiny and mission of women are to fulfill the noble and benign offices of wife and mother. This is the law of the Creator and ~~rules~~ of society. Man's role is also spelled out. Man is or should be woman's protector and defender. The natural and proper timidity and delicacy which belongs to the female sex evidently unfits it for many of the occupations of civil life.

In 1874 a woman decided she was a person and a citizen under the 14th Amendment, yet she was not allowed to vote. Women were not allowed to vote until the 19th Amendment was passed. In the areas of restricting hours of employment for women, laws say that you can only work so many hours

a day. In *Muller vs. Oregon* the Supreme Court again showed its very protective nature. It said:

Women are not equal to men. Woman's physical structure and performance of maternal functions place her at a disadvantage in the struggle for subsistence. This is especially true when the burdens of motherhood are upon her. Physical well-being of woman becomes an object of public interest, and care in order to preserve the strength and vigor of the race is important. And history discloses the fact that women have always been dependent on men.

In fact, some people believe we don't need a constitutional Equal Rights Amendment. The only legal argument against the constitutional amendment is the existence of the 14th Amendment which says everybody is entitled to equal protection of the laws and applies equally to men and women. This is true, but the fact remains that we had never won a case with the 14th Amendment until last November. This was the case, *Reed vs. Reed*, 404 US 71 (1971), which involves an Idaho statute where preference is given to the man in the appointment of an administrator of an estate. When the Reeds' son died, both parents applied to be administrator of the estate. The probate court appointed the father. When the case was appealed to the Supreme Court, the statute was declared unconstitutional because it violated the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment.

In *Phillips vs. Martin Marietta Corporation* a woman complained that she was denied employment because she had preschool children. She claimed that since the company hired men with preschool children, she had been discriminated against on the basis of sex. The case was heard by the Supreme Court, but the lawyers and judges made a mockery of the case. When I read the proceedings I noticed ten instances of laughter mentioned, but never in my years of reading court proceedings have I once seen laughter recorded. The Supreme Court remanded the case to the lower court to find out whether the Marietta Corporation asked the same questions of males.

The corporation had not asked reasonable questions. They didn't ask: "Do you have proper child care for your children at home? Is your husband living? Do you have to work?" They just made the moral judgment that any woman with young children belongs at home no matter what the circumstances.

In 1969 a professor of law, Leo Kanowitz, wrote a book called *Women and the Law*. He devoted a whole chapter to saying that it was unnecessary to pass an Equal Rights Amendment. After the *Marietta* case he changed his mind. In April 1971 he appeared before Congress and said, "Now I know we need an Equal Rights Amendment." We need the Equal Rights Amendment even if it is redundant and underlines the 14th Amendment.

The real opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment has come from

organized labor. Under the guise of protective legislation women have been deprived of the opportunity for advancement, for overtime, for more lucrative jobs.

The roles for women are expected to revolve around reproduction and child rearing. The criminal law is steeped in the mythology and stereotyping of women. First of all, very few women are convicted of crimes in the United States. They are about 4 percent of the prison population, which means approximately 15,000 women are incarcerated daily. In 1969 the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor made a survey of women criminals. Most were young; half were under 30. Most came from the city ghettos. Their employment pattern was spotty and they were often on welfare. Many of those who worked made \$60 a week or less working at low skilled jobs with little status. About three-fifths scored below the eighth grade level.

In a study on criminality of women and their low prison rates, Pollock claimed that they participated in crimes that were unreported, such as shoplifting, domestic thefts, abortion, and perjury. Secondly, he said women became involved as accessories to men's crimes. Thirdly, he said women's role doesn't offer them the opportunity for crimes available to men in the world of work. Fourthly, the chivalrous factor entered when he concluded that men who were victims of women's crimes were afraid to report the crime.

Let's consider women as offenders under the criminal law section. Prostitution is the greatest crime that women commit. But it takes two to tango, and where are the male arrests? Where is the equality? I looked up the definition of prostitution in *Black's Law Dictionary*. It states that a prostitute "is a woman who indiscriminately consorts with men for hire." Let's get it clear. Prostitution statutes in many states say woman, period. In common law, before we had state law, prostitution was not a crime, and at this stage of my research I'm inclined to think we should not have laws for prostitution.

Other broad categories of women's crimes stem from prostitution. If a policeman can't fine a girl on prostitution, he gets her on breach of the peace, disorderly conduct, loitering, or vagrancy. The penalties are usually low, but women prostitutes are in and out of court. They are not rehabilitated, and in a way serve life sentences in installments. In Detroit they tried to rehabilitate prostitutes, setting aside some \$150,000, but terminated the program after a year because they didn't find a single prostitute desiring rehabilitation.

The only crime women cannot commit is rape, rather they are victims. Forcible rape is the term for those of legal age, and statutory rape for those underage. We know that there are some very young prostitutes, and men can be victimized in cases of rape when women make up the stories. New York has overreacted to this with rape statutes requiring corroborative evi-

dence. A *New York Times Sunday Magazine* article said if a man steals a television and rapes a woman in her apartment, he gets arrested for stealing the television because corroborating evidence of rape can't be obtained. The rape victim is often scared, takes a bath and eliminates the medical evidence before reporting the rape. The police don't believe her, and it's one more instance where the woman can't prove the rape charge.

The sociologist Amir has reported some figures in *Patterns in Forcible Rape*. Three-fourths of the cases are planned ahead of time and are committed on weekends by offenders between 15 and 24 years of age. Most of the victims are between 15 and 25, and unmarried. Maybe a married woman isn't as apt to report the rape as a young girl. Amir also compared the psychiatric offenders with the criminal offenders. The psychiatric offender could be from ghetto or affluent suburb, predominantly white, sexually inhibited, gentle and seductive because he thought he was raping his mother. That really gets me! Wayward child—it's the mother's fault. Homosexual—mother's fault. Rapist—mother's fault. This should be a fertile research project for feminists. Amir concluded that the criminal offender was mostly from the ghetto, black, not sexually inhibited, and felt no guilt about committing the crime.

The law aims to prevent delinquency in girls, but not so much with boys, and inequality exists for youth by sexes. A key case is *In re Gault*. The Supreme Court said a youngster was entitled to the same rights as an adult. But a Connecticut case under the manifest danger statute says: "Any unmarried 16 to 21 year old female who is in manifest danger of falling into vice may be committed to an institution." How can you define manifest danger of falling into vice? There are no clear-cut guidelines. Therefore it's arbitrary and could be unconstitutional. Fortunately, the manifest danger statute in Connecticut was repealed this year.

A more hopeful case came from New York where a similar statute is applied equally to men and women, boys and girls. Here the court said it was cruel and unusual punishment because the youngsters were placed in institutions with hardcore criminals and adults. Let's hope it's a trend.

To look at institutions, my law class visited Niantic State Prison for Women where the rehabilitation process teaches the girls good grooming, housekeeping, and manners. Most of these women have never associated with these terms and don't belong to a class of people that are neat, clean, and hygienic. Again, a stereotypic approach. But women's institutions are improving as opposed to men's institutions. There is more freedom and self-government. One house in Niantic set up its own rules, hours, and enforcement procedures. If males were allowed the same privileges, maybe more male prisoners would be rehabilitated.

We have noted earlier that organized labor opposes the Equal Rights Amendment under the guise of preserving protective legislation for women. When a woman is restricted by law to a certain number of hours, she

cannot collect overtime, nor can she get a supervisory job. Under the guise of protection, women have been kept down and unions have locked out women. Connecticut law says a woman can't work from one to six in the morning and that a woman needs a chair at work. Why doesn't a man need a chair? And why isn't it dangerous for a man to be out from one to six in the morning?

Women need to be protected in the area of maternity benefits and it is legitimate to make sure their short-term maternity leave doesn't jeopardize job security or retirement benefits. However, another section of this report deals with these issues for teachers.

On the federal level, more women need to take advantage of the 1963 Equal Pay Act. Women I know used to work side by side with men in factories and earn less than males. Women in insurance companies doing the same job as men were not getting equal pay. Initially the Equal Pay Act exempted certain people such as professionals and administrators, but it now includes teachers. If you are discriminated against in seeking a job, or on the job, contact the Equal Pay Division of the Department of Labor.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act says: No one shall be discriminated against in employment on the basis of national origin, race, color, or creed. As amended this year, the word "sex" was added, and the benefits have been extended to teachers and state employees. Also there is Executive Order 11246, amended by 11375, to cover institutions with federal contracts of \$50,000 or more.

As for employment advertisements, I think it's illegal to use male and female categories, but newspapers will not integrate the ads unless forced to do so. Presently a Connecticut lawsuit has been filed against 32 newspapers for this abuse. Some of the newspapers plead they are not employment agencies. My theory says if I look for a job in today's *Hartford Courant*, then I think this paper is acting as an employment agency and it should be so regarded under the law. Those are my own views, but I hope they prevail. If not, we are going to need stronger legislation to separate male jobs from female jobs.

THE IMAGE OF WOMEN

*Leah Margulies and
Judith Miller*

The Woman's Research Project is a collective of two women trying to develop a feminist analysis of the corporate world. Their research grew out of an earlier task when they helped a Yale economics professor compile a reader on the corporation. Through that experience they learned that business literature is often the best guide to corporate strategy and, moreover, that it's not necessary to be a specialist to do research. The women's movement gave them the self-confidence to do research in an area dominated by male economists, professors, and businessmen.

The purpose of their project was an analysis of four major questions:

1. How do products define women's social role?
2. How does the structure of the family change in relation to corporate needs?
3. How is women's unpaid or underpaid labor related to corporate planning?
4. How are corporations trying to keep up with and co-opt the women's movement?

In answering these questions Margulies and Miller used illustrations from the advertising world of business. In prefacing the slide show they stated that corporations' reactions to the women's movement as a social force are most obvious in advertising, but are also pervasive in areas of employment, production, and population control methods.

The most objectionable of women's roles, blatantly revealed in advertising, play on basic insecurities of both men and women. Men have to live up to the big virile he-man image; women must be attractive, seductive, slender, well-groomed, and coy, as well as competent service workers such as mothers, wives, and secretaries. Sometimes women must be as impersonally attractive as the car or shirt they are used to advertise; or they may be made intimately accessible such as when a bath oil commercial pleads, "Let us get into the tub with you." Sexual exploitation is good for business—is the theme illustrated by the *Women's Research Slide Show*. Excerpts from the presentation follow and show business ads depicting women as mindless manikins or intimate companions.

1. We like to begin with a good example of how businessmen are conscious of using women to sell products.
2. "Men talk about her kind." She could be the woman or the car. Both

CAPITALIZE ON THE MOST POWERFUL SALES INCENTIVE EVER DEvised BY MAN:

WOMAN.

The thing women love with a passion is **SALE**. **SALE** is the most powerful incentive ever devised by man. And when a man makes a sale, he has a woman to thank for it. That's the reason behind the success of **SALE**. **SALE** is the only incentive that works. It's the only incentive that's been around for 100 years. It's the only incentive that's been around for 100 years. It's the only incentive that's been around for 100 years.

FREE OFFER

If you're responsible for the success of your company, you'll want to see this. It's the only incentive that works. It's the only incentive that's been around for 100 years. It's the only incentive that's been around for 100 years. It's the only incentive that's been around for 100 years.

SALE INCENTIVE—WE'LL YOUR MEN ON BILLING.

MEN TALK ABOUT HER KIND

And it's little wonder why. She's sexy and sleek and very beautiful. With elegant curves and soft features, she's every man's idea of a woman. She's the kind of woman that men want. She's the kind of woman that men want. She's the kind of woman that men want.

FREE OFFER

If you're responsible for the success of your company, you'll want to see this. It's the only incentive that works. It's the only incentive that's been around for 100 years. It's the only incentive that's been around for 100 years. It's the only incentive that's been around for 100 years.

1. We like to begin with a good example of how businessmen are conscious of using women to sell products.

2. "Men talk about her kind." She could be the woman or the car. Both are represented as wild and desirable, to be possessed and owned by men—a good example of pornographic ads.

May we get into the bathtub with you?

You must be honest, getting clean close to all that skin has never been getting clean. While you're getting clean, you might as well get soft and smooth-skinned. And fragrance and femininity. And sensuality. And sensuality.

All it takes is a handful of new Softique. Softique is the new skin care product. It's a skin care product that's been around for 100 years. It's a skin care product that's been around for 100 years. It's a skin care product that's been around for 100 years.

Softique

Think of her as your mother.

She's young, sexy, and a little bit like a mother. She's young, sexy, and a little bit like a mother. She's young, sexy, and a little bit like a mother. She's young, sexy, and a little bit like a mother. She's young, sexy, and a little bit like a mother.

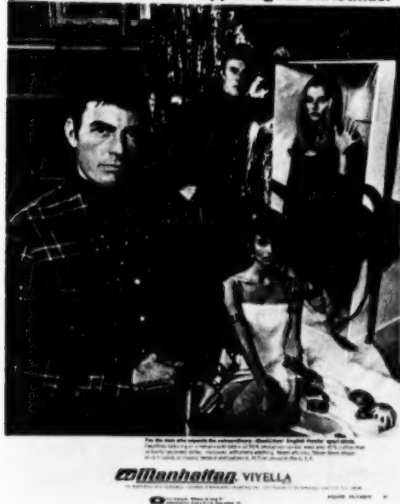
It's the American Way

American Airlines

5. More sexually suggestive copy as the male world of advertising invades our privacy—assuming that we welcome their come-ons.

6. Young, beautiful, sexy, and a mother? Trying to be so many things keeps you coming and going. It's no news that mothers are service workers.

Viyella! That's what's happening for Christmas.



3. We are lifeless dolls—to be wrapped up in a package only men can unwrap.



7. Here's how they do it—get you while you're young. Once again, products distort your role. This is what you're supposed to want for the next 40 years.

We've found 8 new ways to make a woman beautiful.



4. They convince us we need to be beautiful. They don't tell us that the beauty market is \$2.5 billion. This is businessmen talking to each other on how to develop products. It is a clear example of how a social role is created and cemented by products.



8. An ad to capitalize on your insecurities. What does it mean to be more of a woman? This is a picture from a corporation annual report showing how this message spurred sales.

WOMEN AND ECONOMICS

Francine Blau

I would like to talk about the increasing importance of market work for women, or work outside the home. There has been an enormous increase since 1940, when 25 percent of the work force was female, to the present when 38 percent of all workers are women. When we ask where this increase is coming from, we find that two patterns have developed. From 1940 to 1960 there was a great increase of older married women in the labor force, whereas the rate for younger married women remained constant. Since 1960 work rates of all groups in the female population have increased, but particularly among young mothers. This is remarkable because at the same time there has been no marked expansion in child care facilities. It indicates a growing commitment to market work as a way of life for women in this age group.

After observing these changes, we might ask, Have opportunities expanded? Though the picture is still relatively bleak, there has been a little progress. In occupational distribution we find that women are concentrated in relatively low-pay, low-status jobs. One-third of the female labor force is in clerical occupations—about 60 percent of all female white collar workers. At the same time 70 percent of all male white collar workers are in professional, technical, or managerial categories.

Among blue collar workers only 7 percent of the females are craftsmen or foremen. That means 93 percent are operative, semi-skilled, or unskilled. By comparison, 40 percent of the men are craftsmen in the blue collar category. The picture is even more unfavorable for black women, a quarter of whom are private household workers in the lowest paid category in the country.

While these statistics give some idea of the current status, the most important aspect is the concentration of women in a very small number of jobs. In 1969 the Bureau of the Census reported that half of all women workers were concentrated in just 21 job categories out of a possible 250. Half of the men were spread across 65 occupational categories. A quarter of the female work force was listed in just 5 job categories: elementary school teaching, secretary-stenographer, waitress, bookkeeper, and private household worker.

Not only are women concentrated in a small number of jobs, which shows their limited opportunities, but these jobs tend to be predominantly

female. This situation has not changed since 1900. In 1900 half of all women workers were in jobs in which 70 percent or more of the work force were women. The same figure is true in 1970. While new jobs have been added to the female list, it remains true that the majority of the work force is in female jobs. Some jobs, such as key punch operators, didn't exist in the past. Therefore more opportunities to work have arisen, but they are still in a segregated status. Even in job categories that employ both men and women, firms will tend to employ either 100 percent men or 100 percent women, and this coincides with the sexual division of labor.

One index of women's economic status is their occupational distribution, and another logical index is their earnings. In 1969 full-time female workers earned only 58 percent of what full-time male workers earned. A common belief is that white women earn more than black men. It's not true. The nonwhite man in 1968 earned 70 percent of the white male median; white women earned only 59 percent of the white male median; and nonwhite women earned a mere 46 percent. These earning differentials persist even if we control for broad occupational groups. For example: Women sales workers earned 40 percent of the median of male sales workers. Women as professional, technical, and managerial workers earned 56 percent of the male median. To illustrate in another way: In 1968 only 14 percent of all full-time women workers earned over \$7,000 whereas 60 percent of all male workers earned over \$7,000. We can see that an overwhelming majority of women earn less than \$7,000, but the majority of men earn more.

I guess another important thing to talk about is the question, Isn't it true that women don't need the money as much as men? They're being well taken care of at home? They're only working for their own personal satisfaction? Isn't that true?

Women in group: "Well, it's not true!"

It's not true, because 60 percent of the female work force in 1968 was comprised of women who were either single, widowed, divorced, separated from their husbands, or married to husbands who earned less than \$5,000 a year. Therefore, 60 percent of the female work force was self-supporting or contributing to the essential support of others.

The picture is even more bleak for female heads of families. One-third of all families headed by women live in poverty. One-half of the families headed by nonwhite women are poor. It is interesting to note that 47 percent of all poor children live in families headed by women. So, if we are worried about the problem of poverty, then we must be concerned about women workers.

Another interesting point is that women can help to keep a family out of poverty. Among white families in the 1960's 11 percent of the families were poor if the husband was the only one employed. Only 3 percent were poor if both the husband and wife worked. Among black families 34 percent were poor when only the husband worked, and 19 percent when both the

husband and wife were employed.

The vital question is, What causes this? We say that women are concentrated in low paying jobs, but why? I think we can analyze it in economic terms. The demand for women is restricted to a small category of traditionally female jobs. At the same time the supply of women available to work is responsive to minor changes in wage rates or in employment opportunities. The combination of large supply and restricted demand results in lower earnings in the female market. Women earn less money because they're in women's jobs and women's work isn't well paid. Male teachers might agree that when men are in women's jobs, like teaching, they also get low pay.

Question from group: "Isn't there a trend that when men do go into a woman's job that salaries tend to go up?"

Group member: "I'm thinking of nursing."

Group member: "I thought that was the argument, but it has never brought with it high salaries. It was \$34 a day the last I heard."

Group member: "It's been going up, and if you look at the big hospitals you'll notice that most of the directors of nursing have changed from a woman to a male. That's why I asked the question."

TEACHER MATERNITY PROVISIONS IN CONNECTICUT

Robbins Barstow

The year 1972 is the breakthrough year in Connecticut for female teachers to bear children without penalty in employment. During the 1960's most Connecticut boards of education granted maternity leave and a variety of provisions were negotiated by local associations and incorporated in contracts. The provisions, however, often contained restrictions.

Most contract clauses specified that the leave had to begin no later than the fifth or sixth month of pregnancy, that it had to extend beyond childbirth, and that such leave would be available only to tenure teachers. Invariably, maternity leave was entirely without pay.

The first successful challenge in Connecticut to a restrictive maternity contract clause came in the spring of 1971. Mrs. Mary McDaniel, a Middletown kindergarten teacher, faced with having to leave in midterm because of pregnancy, filed a grievance claiming the existing rule to be unconstitutional. She continued teaching pending arbitration, and in the late spring the arbitrator decided in her favor. Mrs. McDaniel was represented by Attorney Shirley Bysiewicz and supported by the Connecticut Civil Liberties Union.

The second challenge came when Mrs. Kathleen Staten filed a grievance, supported by the East Hartford Education Association and the Connecticut Education Association (CEA), seeking reinstatement and back pay for the period spent on mandatory maternity leave. When the arbitrator ruled against her, she pressed a complaint before the Connecticut Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities (CHRO) alleging discrimination based on sex. The CHRO ruled in her favor, asserting that the East Hartford maternity contract clause was a violation of the state Fair Employment Practices Act and, therefore, invalid and void. The initial victory, however, has been clouded by the East Hartford Board of Education's decision to try to overthrow the CHRO ruling by taking the matter to court. The CEA is confident of ultimate success in this case.

The third challenge came in November 1971 when a Waterford English teacher, Priscilla Green, sought an injunction to prevent a forced maternity leave after an arbitrary number of months of pregnancy. Mrs. Green's action was supported by the local association, the CEA, and the National

Education Association (NEA) as a test case. The federal district judge ruled that her constitutional rights had not been violated, but this decision has been appealed by CEA and NEA in the hope of a reversal.

The most significant breakthrough for the rights of pregnant teachers occurred in April 1972 when the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commissions "Guidelines on Discrimination Because of Sex" became law. These new guidelines state that "disabilities caused or contributed to by pregnancy, miscarriage, abortion, childbirth, and recovery therefrom are, for all job-related purposes, temporary disabilities and should be treated as such under any health or temporary disability insurance or sick leave plan available in connection with employment."

This means that any teacher has the right to continue to teach as long as she is medically able, to receive payment for her sick leave, and to return to her position when she is medically able to do so.

The CEA will continue to press for full compliance with the new EEOC guidelines and implementation of these rights for all Connecticut teachers. As long as some boards of education refuse to recognize these rights, various legal actions will be required in coming months. At least three complaints of guideline violations had been filed before the end of the 1971-72 school year.

A new set of "Recommended Teacher Group Contract Provisions Regarding Parenthood Leaves" have been developed by CEA and it is anticipated that these new provisions will be used in forthcoming negotiations with boards of education. Ultimately they will be substituted for current contract maternity clauses now outmoded by the EEOC guidelines.

The new recommended provisions make a clear distinction between two different sets of circumstances related to maternity or parenthood. The first set relates to childbirth; the second set to childrearing. For childbirth, provision is made for full payment of accumulated sick leave. For childrearing, provision is made for extended leave up to two years, without pay, available to male or female teachers who wish to take it. This is applicable whether the child is born to the teacher, is adopted, or is a foster child. We believe that court decisions will affirm that the right to such equitable treatment for parent teachers is a constitutionally protected right.

A copy of the new "Recommended Teacher Group Contract Provisions Regarding Parenthood Leaves" follows.

CONNECTICUT EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
21 Oak Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06106

**RECOMMENDED TEACHER GROUP CONTRACT PROVISIONS
REGARDING PARENTHOOD LEAVES**
(Complying with April 5, 1972 U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Com-

mission "Guidelines on Discrimination Because of Sex")

1. *Childbirth Leave.* Disabilities caused or contributed to by pregnancy, miscarriage, abortion, childbirth, and recovery therefrom shall be treated as temporary disabilities for all job-related purposes. Policies involving commencement and duration of leave, the availability of extensions, the accrual of seniority and other benefits and privileges, protection under health or temporary disability insurance plans, and payment of sick leave shall be applied to disability due to pregnancy or childbirth on the same terms and conditions as they are applied to other temporary disabilities.
2. *Resignation for Parenthood.* Any certified professional employee intending to resign for purposes of parenthood shall submit not less than 30 days written notice of the anticipated date of ending performance of duties. Upon resignation for purposes of parenthood, an employee shall be entitled to receive full pay for up to 30 days of accrued sick leave.
3. *Childrearing Leave.* Any certified professional employee shall be entitled, upon written request submitted to the superintendent of schools, to an extended leave without pay for purposes of childrearing, beyond any period of childbirth disability leave with pay. Such childrearing leave without pay shall be for the remainder of any school year in which the child is born, adopted, or fostered, and may be for one or more full school years in addition, if requested by the employee.
 - (a) No experience credit on the salary schedule shall be granted for any childrearing leave without pay which extends for more than half of a school year, but credit shall be given for any such leave which extends for less than half of a school year.
 - (b) All insurance, retirement and other employee benefits shall continue in force for any employee on childrearing leave without pay, provided that the employee pays all premiums, contributions, and other costs requisite to keep such benefits in force during such period.

May 31, 1972

WOMEN'S STUDIES

Marni White

Let me tell you about how the course at Wesleyan evolved and then we can talk about anything you want. The course started in the fall of 1970 when Sheila Tobias asked me to participate in a course about women. Subsequently, some interested women from the Wesleyan community met, and the course developed spontaneously right there with each person stating what she could lecture about. A woman getting her Ph.D. in classics at Yale gave the first lecture about women in Greek drama. An historian getting her Ph.D. in Byzantine history gave the second, a lecture about Empress Josephine in Byzantine history. I lectured about the employed woman in contemporary society. The course was a hodgepodge. Some of the lectures were good, but some, while stimulating in themselves, were too academic and some of the speakers had never lectured before. Almost 100 people enrolled in the course, with another 25 to 30 women from the community auditing it.

This year, 1972, there are fewer women lecturers and a lot more men, many of whom are the Wesleyan staff. However, a lot of the women who gave particularly successful lectures have come back even though they may not be on the staff. This year it's much more organized and follows a much tighter format. Now it starts out with psychology, but last year we started out with whichever lectures were ready to be given first. The second year was much more exciting because of this.

Possibly the best place to start courses is outside the school. For older students extracurricular activities may be just a series of Saturday workshops on women's liberation that would involve their parents. Then parents could see its importance. At this age students could say to parents, Here is a history textbook that we use. Look how women are portrayed in it. And you could say, Go home and watch TV and see how women are portrayed. That's possibly one way to do it. Another way is to bring it in with your regular course work. Teachers who work all day are not about to go.

Excerpts from the Group Discussion

"You have to alert women as a group. For example: I'm on the Human Relations Committee of CEA which organized this conference and not a single woman from my school is here today, although many were informed of the conference. Their excuses didn't seem very prohibitive but motivation was lacking."

"Women may be understanding and agree with the need for a confer-

ence, but are frightened about implications—which means changing the rules. Women may have to sacrifice security for the privilege of a career and independence. Security is the most difficult possession in the world to surrender. It's much easier to be a wife and mother than to have a career. Although the career world is tough and women could liberate men from it."

"Women students in a social studies discussion about minority groups and equal rights for women expressed little concern for women's rights and did not feel that they had experienced discrimination."

"One of the best things the junior or senior high school teacher can suggest is looking at the mass media, TV, magazines, and especially commercials on TV and in magazines. Analyze them in terms of whether women are getting put down. Are they always objects of ridicule? Are they always cast in degrading positions? They are. Just analyzing a TV program is a very clear way for students to begin to think about problems. A woman in the last group mentioned *All in the Family* which is a humorous way of putting women down, and women are used this way. I think a high school student can be made very aware of what's going on. Commercials are just awful."

"It takes personal experience to produce awareness. I started to think about *The Feminine Mystique* when it first came out and I was in college, but it didn't seem to relate to me. It doesn't seem to hit people in college, but it comes to their conscious thinking later."

"When I was in college, I felt I didn't need *The Feminine Mystique*. But when I faced the problem of raising children and having a husband who was also achieving in his career, I realized that I had a long way to go, and then I read *The Feminine Mystique*."

"*The Feminine Mystique* came out when I started to work full-time, and the only thing I remember about it is the comment that the hardest step for a woman is to become a professional. It's so easy to stay home and do volunteer work when you feel like it."

"You forget that it hasn't always been so easy to stay home. Some women who were restricted to the home committed suicide or saw analysts. When you say that it's easy to stay home, you're really saying that it's harder to change than to remain the same. It's hard to say, I will go out—hard."

"Also to get someone to take care of the children."

"We can create institutions to care for our children, but on the other hand, are we also domestics? Many men say they would love the opportunity to take time off to write or follow a hobby. But do we accept what men say when they haven't the time to really try it and prove it? Remember, men are motivated to succeed."

"If we talk in terms of the pressures, more is put on the man to succeed, for he is judged by the type of house he lives in and by his education. The problem is that men have too many responsibilities of one kind and women have too many of the other. Men feel this great pressure; they have to work.

Women, especially if they are educated, are not likely to tap their potential and will probably live in a prison, working 72 hours a week. We need diverse goals for men and women. Once new roles are accepted, there may be some perfectly happy men and women—even though society looks down on the man who doesn't work, even though the wife is better off away from the kids, and even though he likes to make bread and write poetry. Both househusbands and housewives are needed."

"I wonder how many people really are happy staying home. What is there?"

"The serious commitment is to raise children, to be there when needed by children and husband. But what of the guilt feelings associated with a career? How many women here have kids that are under six? And a career? And there aren't adequate day care centers, really good ones. But this is a whole long discussion on day care centers and other forms of house and child care."

"Let's discuss the way boys are railroaded into shop or mechanics and girls into home ec or sewing. Many of the schools are changing now as they teach girls and boys to be self-sufficient and independent. What do you all feel about this?"

"Both the boys and girls in our school are enthusiastic and it's worked out well."

"An informal stigma is attached to a boy taking home ec or if the instructor is misogynistic, students drop out."

"The boys who took home ec enjoyed it, but it wasn't something they were going to take on for life."

"In a course called 'bachelor living' boys learn to prepare a meal for one, to sew and keep house. Women have to do these things, so it's insulting to label it 'bachelor living'—why not skills of living?"

"Do students really carry this learning home?"

"It depends on the environment to which they return. If mother does all the laundry, then regression occurs. People also regress after marriage, but I wonder if the man suddenly doesn't know how or that the woman just takes over. The tendency is to fall back into the patterns of childhood."

"It's also different when wives work outside the home. If both husband and wife work, roles are different; especially among young married couples without children, there's more sharing. The wife with preschoolers suffers by falling back into the traditional pattern."

"One of the initial questions was 'What can be done to get women's studies in the schools? I think a prerequisite is changing the women's lib image.'"

"Who created the women's lib image? Probably the newspapermen who report the bizarre. I haven't seen a woman here today whom I would consider militant or masculine, yet that's the image. As long as that image persists, how are we going to get into the high schools?"

"Something has to be done to erase the image that the two things women's libbers are most concerned about are creating a lesbian relationship and getting paid for prostitution in marriage."

"Those were the two principles that men began writing about. I'm not the kind who thinks there's anything immoral in lesbianism, although I do not agree with prostitution in marriage. In a cooperative effort, neither one is prostituting. With an image like that people will learn, but barriers and prejudice will also be created. It doesn't take long for that to build up, and if it doesn't get knocked down the fear image gets across. It damages us all."

"How can you reply to 'What do you think about women's lib?'"

"Start to say very quietly and honestly that it's very important that people be equal and go on from there hoping the barrier doesn't happen."

"I think it's essential to have meetings like this even though the majority attending agree on the basic issues. I don't know how many people agree to the full extent, but I hope the positive feelings have been reinforced and the doubts answered with supportive information."

GROWING UP AS A FEMALE READER

Joan Joffe Hall

I.B. Singer's fable for teenagers, *Alone in the Wild Forest*, illustrates the quandary of the child reader who happens to be female. Young Joseph is a dreamer with special powers and a magic amulet. Armed with his gift, he wins the hand of Princess Chassidah. The prime minister, Bal Makane, talks her into getting Joseph to reveal his secret amulet. (Shades of Eve and Delilah) Bal Makane takes the amulet and pitches Joseph into the sea. Later Joseph regains the palace where Bal Makane is about to marry Chassidah, and exposes the evildoer. Bal Makane is banished to the forest to live with a witch. There he meets Zeivah, a beautiful girl who's been raised by wolves. Bal Makane becomes humanized, drugs the witch, and escapes with the wolf-girl. He learns love, and when they return to the court a double wedding is celebrated: Joseph and Chassidah, Bal Makane and Zeivah.

The reader identifies with Joseph and then with Bal Makane in the story of their adventures. Bal Makane is the only character to undergo moral regeneration. The females are narrow stereotypes: beautiful but jealous like Chassidah; beautiful but dumb like Zeivah; or ugly and evil like the witch. The girl reader can identify with Chassidah, but only at the peril of being ignored for three-quarters of the tale and of accepting a quiescent role. Unlike Bal Makane and Joseph who restore their own fortunes, Chassidah lacks moral fiber and waits till her lover reappears to assert himself. The girl reader suffers even more in the Bal Makane subplot where both a smart witch and a dumb beauty are put in their place by a male leader.

Revealing as this story is, I'm not objecting to it in itself so much as to the paucity of stories showing different roles for male and female. Few children's books offer other options. Boys act and do interesting things; girls are passive, or if active, wicked, and they must be helped by boys. If the story generalizes and wants a typical child, that child will usually be a boy.

An illustration of this is *The Story of Ick*, by Fred Gwynne (formerly Herman Munster), a "cautionary ecological fable" about a child who looks for a playmate on a polluted beach only to discover the amorphous monster Ick who takes the boy home for a pet. Mrs. Ick says, "I have enough to take care of around here," but Papa Ick says, "There are hardly any little boys on the beach anymore. Maybe if you put him back, some more will grow." My little boys love the book although it's not attractively designed. Another subtle point is being made besides the ecological morality. Because it's a

beach, the child is drawn nude, yet he is without external genitals. Graphically this child looks more female than male, but it is inevitably called a boy.

A recent pamphlet, *Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex Stereotyping in Children's Readers*, provides evidence of the reinforcement of passivity, vicarious enjoyment, and self-sacrifice in young girls, as well as their relative invisibility. Of the 2,760 stories examined in 134 books, these alarming ratios were found:

Boy-centered stories to girl-centered stories	5 to 2
Adult male main characters to adult female main characters	3 to 1
Male biographies to female biographies	6 to 1
Male animal stories to female animal stories	2 to 1
Male folk or fantasy to female folk or fantasy	4 to 1

While boys are praised for ingenuity, cleverness, creativity, and resourcefulness,

Clever girls appear 33 times, clever boys 131.

A boy seeks approval through achievement, a girl through helpfulness.

Boys triumph through perseverance, initiative, bravery.

Girls are indoctrinated with self-abnegation, passivity, docility, and real and faked dependency.

Girls, unlike boys, are permitted to express emotions. This seems to be a positive virtue until one discovers that the emotion most emphasized is fear. Two little girls standing on chairs shrieking to be rescued from a frog is in the best feminine tradition.

I wonder what happens to girls who like to read. Do they learn to identify with boys, like Huck Finn, David Copperfield, and D'Artagnan? And if they resist identification with males and still want a piece of the action they are left with the unsatisfactory Nancy Drews. Yet fans of heroines like Nancy Drew are, first of all, not reading prose as significant as that of Dickens or Jules Verne. Second, Nancy Drew is not an archetypal child, nor even a very real one, but a wish fulfillment—bright, pretty, courageous (no mother, but a father to rescue her in emergencies), and she has no defects that an ordinary girl can recognize as her own.

But girls who stick to literature are up a creek, for few books will give them lifelike heroines.

Girls who read a lot become isolated from other girls whom they consider to be silly, romantic, boycrazy, and inept. They become schizophrenically alienated from themselves. What then are girls to do? Or, more appropriate is the question, what are their teachers to do? One possibility is to raise questions about role models and sex stereotypes as they appear in textbook fiction and make comparisons with their own mothers, older sisters, or other women they know. With younger children we can examine the illustrations and ask: Why are the girls standing idly by? Also TV drama, commercials, pop song lyrics, and all the media surrounding the teenager offer a

rich source for analysis of sex stereotyping and the acculturation of girls.

Equally important is the introduction and discussion of biographies and literary classics with strong heroines. The following is a list of books that I would recommend:

Biographies of famous women include:

Women of Courage, by Dorothy Nathan

Famous American Women, by Hope Stoddard

Doctors in Petticoats, by Alice Fleming

Growing Up Female in America, by Eve Merriam

Excellent materials, booklists, and syllabi are available from:

KNOW, Inc., Box 19197, Pittsburgh, Pa. 15232

Feminists on Children's Media, P.O. Box 4315, Grand Central Station, New York, N.Y. 10017

Aphra, Box 273, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014

The Feminist Press, State University of New York at Old Westbury, Box 334, Old Westbury, N.Y. 11568

Excellent novels are:

The Awakening, by Kate Chopin

The Bell Jar, by Sylvia Plath

Memories of a Catholic Girlhood, by Mary McCarthy

Even fairly conservative classics are rewarding:

Pride and Prejudice, by Jane Austen

A Doll's House, by Henrik Ibsen

The Scarlet Letter, by Nathaniel Hawthorne

WOMEN IN EDUCATION

Suzanne S. Taylor

The topic of women's rights has erupted into national prominence in the early seventies, and the fervor of women's liberation groups makes it a daily concern to the press and television. New historical documents, publications, research studies, and literature on the topic are varied and voluminous. Though much of the writing is designed to propagandize the cause, a large portion is devoted to women's role in education because of the large percentage of women in the teaching profession. An historical analysis of American education reveals the degree of involvement of women in education. Research pursued by educators during the last 20 years offers further explanation about the roles and goals of women educators. Lastly, statistics pertaining to the role involvement of women educators describe the past and present status of women.

Women did not participate in the education process during the earliest years of American history. Their responsibilities as homemakers left no extra time for frills. According to Colucci, in his recent study of female academies in Connecticut, in the 1600's women were thought of as objects, not as individuals.¹ Their first ventures into the schoolroom took place in the 17th century in "dame schools"² where they prepared young boys for the regular town schools. As America became more settled, private venture schools were founded for boys and girls. These schools were eventually replaced by male and female academies in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.³

One of the first New England schools to accept girls was founded by Mrs. Jupe as a "dame school" in Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1639. Similar schools followed in New Haven (1651), and in Sudbury, Massachusetts (1680). Such schools were operated by a dame or a widow, or by a woman who needed a way to support herself. Though boys soon moved on to the town schools, girls were permitted to attend and remain longer because they increased the income of the proprietress. By 1682 these schools had become so successful that in Springfield, Massachusetts the city contracted with a proprietress, Goodwife Merrick, to encourage her in the good work. The girls learned to read, but usually were not taught to write because they might learn how to forge their future husband's signature.⁴

The attitude of the nation toward women in education was generally ambivalent from 1750 to 1920. Without some favorable support, there could

not have been any infiltration of women into the profession. A significant influx of women into the classrooms came during the Civil War when barriers were lifted so that women could replace men teachers who went away to war. Under these circumstances, the recruitment of women as teachers became a necessity. But to do the same task as men, the women had to receive an equal education. From this point in time women made steady progress. By 1870 nearly two-thirds of all public school teachers were women, and the careers of women educators blossomed up to the time of the passage of the 19th Amendment in 1920 when they reached the plateau of their success.

During the depression years of the 1930's and throughout the years following World War II a decline in the status of women was reflected by lower percentages of women in educational administration. For instance: Statistics show that women elementary principals declined between 1951 and 1962 from 56 percent to 37 percent. Similar decreases occurred in the numbers of women secondary principals, superintendents, and higher echelon college faculty. This trend continues today.

A closer look at some historical aspects of women's education explains why women are an integral part of the education process, but not leaders.

Although girls were permitted to attend the "dame schools" and the private venture schools, they were informed that intellectuality, politics, and philosophy were not intended for them. According to Colucci, the private venture schools that catered to girls emphasized "rudimentary and ornamental studies" rather than the more academic subjects offered to boys.⁵ The following advertisement appearing in New Haven in 1783 illustrates the type of curriculum differences of that day:

Gentlemen and Ladies are hereby informed that a school is opened in New Haven for the instruction of Misses in the following branches of Female Education, viz: Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, Composition, and the different branches of Needle-work . . .⁶

Another educational historian attributed the numerous private venture schools in New Haven to the need of Yale students for additional financial support.⁷

Private venture schools were the forerunners of female academies. In 1792 Sarah Pierce founded a private venture school which became the Litchfield Female Academy in 1827.⁸ Colucci has said that these academies signified that girls were no longer intellectually inferior.⁹

According to Emma Willard, founder of the Troy Female Seminary in 1821, the female academies would improve the education of men through better educated mothers.¹⁰ A similar conclusion was drawn by Colucci who stated:

The rising expectations associated with political independence helped

stimulate demands for extended educational opportunities for girls. The acknowledgement by social leaders that educated women were needed to rear loyal and informed citizens was an important source of such stimulation. It was emphasized that girls need education to help them become the kinds of wives and mothers the new republic required.¹¹

Mary Wollstonecraft, in her *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, in 1792 also supported the need for educating women, and suggested that girls and boys be educated together:

Let an enlightened nation then try what effect reason would have to bring them (women) back to nature, and their duty; and allowing them to share the advantages of education and government with man, see whether they will become better, as they grow wiser and become free. They cannot be injured by the experiment, for it is not in the power of man to render them more insignificant than they are at present.

To render this practicable, day schools for particular ages should be established by Government, in which boys and girls might be educated together.¹²

Female academies flourished until about 1850 when their enrollments began to decrease because of the growing availability of public high schools. At the same time that coeducation was increasing, women were showing their widespread dissatisfaction with second class citizenship through militant action in the suffragette movement. In this era Catherine Beecher became a champion of more educational opportunities for women. She advocated the preparation of women in "domestic economy" for their roles as housewives. She was not in agreement with the prevailing sentiment which favored curricula for women identical to those received by men. Still another viewpoint was held by M. Carey Thomas, president of Bryn Mawr, whose philosophy has been described by O'Neill:

One reason, perhaps for her clarity of vision was its narrow focus. As an educator Miss Thomas was determined to win the badges of success, but pedagogically she was imitative, and once she had her doctorate she abandoned research entirely. Hence she reinforced the tendency of women to favor grade-getting and degree-winning over creative or scholarly work, to focus on the symbols of achievement rather than its substance, and thus helped fix the "good student" syndrome which has since kept so many educated women from realizing their promise.¹³

Despite the conflicting opinions about education and what the education of women should be, by the 1880's the basic problem appeared to have been resolved. Most state universities admitted women on a par with men,

and they were producing many outstanding women educators.

As the percentage of women teachers and administrators increased from 1870 to 1930, the debate over their effectiveness was launched. Unfavorable opinions about the competence of women educators were often expressed by men as they criticized the proportion of women in teaching. In 1904 the Male Teachers Association of New York issued a statement indicting women teachers on three counts:

(1) Women are bad for boys above ten years of age, (2) the continuance of teaching work may be too great a strain upon the physical well-being of women, and (3) although women have done all that they could within their limitations it would be far better for the women, the boys, and the schools if fewer women were employed as teachers.¹⁴

Before 1920 William E. Chancellor expressed the viewpoint that the "feminization of the schools had gone altogether too far." He also said that women were out of place in a teaching principalship.¹⁵

Willystine Goodsell, a leading female educator, reported in 1908 the following comments of a visiting English headmistress:

The subordinate position of women in educational institutions in America shows itself more and more clearly the more one studies; the higher up the scale one goes from the kindergarten to the university, the worse is the position of women. Organization, initiative, administration, government, are in the hands of men. . . . This condition of things, in a country where women occupy a far better position generally than anywhere in the world, and where they are given precedence in all kinds of ways, is very remarkable . . . It was discussed with Americans, and from the conversation the view gradually emerged that Americans do not consider administration as the natural and proper work for women. They feel it to be essentially men's work, though they admit that the exceptional woman may and does do it well.¹⁶

The other side of the controversy was supported by Horace Mann who advocated the presence of women in the public schools both before and after he observed their performance.¹⁷ Another example of support was in the following statement by Willard, president of the Board of Education of Wilmington, Delaware, in 1869:

They commenced by employing male teachers, but although successful in procuring teachers of superior ability, they learned by experience that female teachers were better, and they have, therefore, employed them exclusively for years, as principals and assistants, and both the government and instruction of the schools are reported better for the change.¹⁸

Goodsell summed up the question of woman's place in education by say-

ing that it "has troubled the souls of men for more than a generation and is at the present time the subject of more or less partisan controversy."¹⁹

The continued decline of women in the professions during the thirties, forties, and fifties has been attributed to the fact that most women simply did not believe paid employment was worth the trouble. Further evidence of this disinterest is cited by Alpenfels to show that the percentage of women professional workers in 1960 was 11 percent, whereas in 1930 it was 15 percent. This is true despite the fact that more women went to college in 1960 than in 1930.²⁰

The educated woman of the sixties was viewed by O'Neill as young, attractive, sexually agile, fertile, and bright, but not too bright.²¹ A change in this picture is occurring as the silent generation becomes more militant and women form new groups to protest their status. Women in the seventies are continuing to band together to focus attention on their dilemma. Recent testaments to the crisis are contained in two publications—

Time on March 20, 1972, "Special Issue: The American Woman" and *The University of Chicago School Review*, February, 1972, "Special Issue: Women and Education."—

and in two manifestos—

Women are an oppressed class. Our oppression is total, affecting every facet of our lives. We are exploited as sex objects, breeders, domestic servants and cheap labor. We are considered inferior beings whose only purpose is to enhance men's lives. . . .

*Red Stocking Manifesto*²²

While we realize that the liberation of women will ultimately mean the liberation of men from the destructive role as oppressor, we have no illusion that men will welcome this liberation without a struggle. . . .

*Manifesto of the New York Radical Feminists*²³

Edwin C. Lewis, a psychologist, recently wrote a text designed to assist men and women in understanding the dilemma of modern women. In the preface he said that he was writing first as a psychologist and secondly as a man about women because of his "interest in the efficient use of human resources, of which women represent the largest area of waste."²⁴ In the first chapter Lewis developed many extensive theories to explain the "Revolution in a Man's World." Here are some samples:

A New Change. The confused status of women is not, for the most part the result of legal restrictions. The basic problem is one of attitudes—those of society in general and those of women themselves . . . Women must be encouraged to view themselves as individuals and to make plans in accordance with their unique qualities . . . To do so they

will need the help of those persons in our society who have the responsibility of influencing educational and vocational development: teachers, counselors, businessmen, government leaders, and other professional persons.

A Persistent Stereotype. Despite the mounting cry that women are psychologically and socially the equal of men, a large proportion of our society, both male and female, seems to believe that women in some respects are inferior. This is not to say that such stereotypes cannot be overcome . . . The modern woman must expect to encounter obstacles in her search for identity as a person.

The Conflict of Roles. Many problems which women experience with regard to themselves and their roles in society come from within their own emotional make-up. It is true that these feelings are reinforced by attitudes and behaviors of others, but most women who are prevented from becoming what they want to become are prevented more by forces from within themselves than from without.

Statistics reinforce Lewis' conclusions, for in 1890 nine-tenths of teachers were female, but in 1971 the percentage had declined to two-thirds. The following table demonstrates the decline over the last 14 years.

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AMONG ALL TEACHERS
IN SELECTED YEARS 1957-71

	Elementary	Secondary	All Levels
1957-58	87.2	49.6	73.2
1960-61	85.8	47.2	70.7
1963-64	85.5	46.1	68.9
1966-67	85.4	46.0	68.3
1970-71	84.7	45.9	67.2

Source: National Education Association, *Estimates of School Statistics, 1971-72*, Research Report 1971-R13.

Few of these teachers became administrators, for by 1970-71 women constituted only 21 percent of all elementary principals, 3 percent of secondary principals and 0.6 percent of superintendents, or an overall total of 15 percent who were principals.

Many educators and researchers have probed the reasons for the decline of women as school administrators and some have attempted to dissolve the myths and stereotypes which mitigate against their advancement. A longer discussion of this research is contained in my own doctoral thesis which documents the fact that opportunities for women to pursue educa-

tional administrative careers are limited. Additional research is needed into the nature of discriminatory attitudes and ways to restore the balance in the profession.

NEA has predicted that 841,300 qualified teachers will be unable to find employment in the next 15 years. Women should be concerned with the likelihood that the present ratio of 63 percent female to 37 percent male teachers may be reversed. Thus, one of the professions where women have been accepted may begin to show a rejection trend in the current economy. The prognosis for women in education appears unfavorable. At this juncture women must unite and fight to protect even the status quo.

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SEXUAL POLITICS IN THE CLASSROOM

Sheila Tobias

I became interested in sexual politics in the classroom while teaching the first course on women's studies at Cornell in 1970. I was struck then by the fact that sex-role socialization is viewed as taking place primarily in early childhood. What also struck me was the fact that most psychologists ignore the degree to which *adult* experiences reinforce that socialization. As we know, little girls are rewarded for docility, passivity, and dependence, while little boys are rewarded for assertiveness and independence, and that such training carries over into behavioral characteristics of adults. Yet, experiences in the world of work, and in higher education, give enormous support to those views we have learned to accept earlier as "normal."

Sexual politics on the job is obvious. Examine any large organization where it is easy to see the intense and almost perfect segregation of jobs by sex. Look at the jobs in a university and notice that in those categories occupied by women, there are almost no men. Clerical staffs are predominantly women. By contrast, in training programs for management, men predominate. Any observer must see that it is not by accident that, in the eyes of a corporation, female applicants only qualify for jobs that are "female" and men for jobs that are "male." A plausible explanation is that roles are played in an organization parallel to those in the family. "Mommy" has tasks that "Daddy" never does—and vice versa. Thus the notion is reinforced that what women do, men don't do.

Another phenomenon at work is what I call "satellitism," occurring when a male, admittedly higher in qualifications, is surrounded by females who assist him and reflect his "glory." Anti-discrimination laws are ineffective remedies because the females are less qualified than the male. Moreover, satellitism further reinforces the notion that men are superior to women. By contrast, somewhere in the organization there is an equally qualified female who could be surrounded by less qualified men, but as we know, this never occurs. Another aspect of adult role playing is that women are almost never put into authority over men. For those of you who have read Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics*, you will remember that she notes in Chapter Two that the conventional wisdom explains sex differences as follows: Women are born with certain behavioral characteristics which fit them for their adult roles. They are nurturant, dependent, nonaggressive. Then the roles they assume as wives and mothers divert them from the centers of power. The key ad-

vancement years in vocations and politics are from 25 to 35, but these are precisely the years when women are outside the profession. Every university or school system wants a young president or superintendent with 15 years experience post Ph.D., and this effectively excludes mothers who have taken 5 to 10 years off.

Millett has taken the scheme whereby temperament leads to role and role leads to status and turned it on its head. She hypothesizes that since men wish to remain superior in power and status, they assign women to roles that will keep them from competing with them. The role of mother keeps them in the home; the role of wife keeps them primarily in a support position relative to a man's career. And, in order to keep them from rebelling, she further hypothesizes, men persuade women that they have temperamental characteristics that unfit them for anything else. The female, as Matina Horner says, is in a double bind: if she shows these characteristics that are regarded by professionals as competent, she is doomed to be called unfeminine; if she shows feminine characteristics she will not be successful.

Male and female children are affected by sex stereotyping long before they reach college. At the elementary level girls are rewarded for neatness, docility, obedience, passivity, and following instructions both inside and outside of school. Thus, they experience little dissonance. Meanwhile boys are rewarded outside of school for the opposite kinds of behavior, which results in considerable conflict for the elementary school boy. Females outdistance males in grade-point averages in elementary school and through high school, but grades still reflect docility, obedience, and the special ability to produce what the teacher wants.

In college an opposite reward system begins to take place as the professors give recognition to intellectual aggressiveness, to ideas that are new, different, provocative, and challenging. This is the kind of behavior, though disobedient in a sense, that is reinforced in the world outside the classroom as male, and is rewarded on the job as well. You know the cliches: This young man has ideas. He thinks for himself. At this point it is the female who experiences conflict, for her docility is not rewarded in college as it was in the past. Moreover, when she does manifest behavior that is recognized as original and brilliant, she runs the risk of being considered bizarre.

Women are conditioned to avoid conflict, and if true to their sex role, they must be pacifiers. To the female intellectual or professional, this presents almost as serious a drawback as outright discrimination. Women will not get anywhere if they cannot think for themselves, if they are not aggressive about their interests, and if they are not willing to engage in intellectual conflict.

One obvious corrective to this situation is the teacher who will bend over backwards to challenge good intellects into nonsex-stereotyped behavior.

Another corrective is the college teacher who learns to identify with women students. As teachers of women, men must conquer their beliefs that women are so different from them, and women teachers who are misogynists need to be confronted with their own biases.

Still another corrective measure that would help women succeed in college and in the profession would be an affirmative action program on the part of the university to hire more women as faculty members and as high level administrators. Women are needed as role models in such positions. Not only would female students benefit from such action, but also male students who need to encounter women in positions of authority.

The curriculum also socializes college students, and unless corrections are made, will continue to reinforce traditional sex roles and sex differences. Women's studies can provide a fundamental critique of the inherent sexism in the traditional curriculum, but unless compensation is made for earlier omissions of factual material concerning women throughout the broad range of disciplines, women will continue to be ignored and repressed. Notable among the disciplines requiring such curriculum revision are history, literature, psychology, and the social sciences.

One other area in which universities reinforce sex-typed preferences is one so familiar to you that I will not dwell on it, and that is the area of sex-typed fields of specialization. To give you an idea of how the assumptions that certain fields are masculine and others feminine become self-fulfilling prophecies, here are some statistics of earned doctorates in America from 1960 to 1968: 11 percent of the doctorates in all the natural sciences went to women; 30 percent of the doctorates in education went to women; 20 to 25 percent of the doctorates in social sciences went to women; and 30 percent of the doctorates in the humanities went to women.

The final area of adult socialization of college students is what I call the "wider world," and it is one for which we cannot hold the university entirely responsible. Nevertheless, I would demand of the university that it experiment with nonsexist ideology and hiring policies. I would ask that the university stand before the world as an example of how an institution can function in an egalitarian fashion. It should be the place where innovations in the curriculum are tried. It should be the first institution to initiate part-time full-status work for women professionals as well as the first to initiate child care as a regular part of the benefit structure.

Though more women go to college than ever before, we are not getting out of them the kind of professional commitment that earlier generations produced because their upward mobility is blocked by sexual politics in the classroom, on the job, and in our society. Although 80 to 90 percent of women with doctorates work full-time, few are college presidents. Only three women have ever been state governors, and two have been senators. Recently a greater number of women have held seats in the House. Opportunities must be opened and women educated for the opportunities.